OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS
SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

Labour mobility in the construction industry

Alan Marsh
and
Patrick Heady
with
Jil Matheson

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Alan Marsh
Patrick Heady
OPCS, Summer 1981

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1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Contents

Page

Acknowledgements iii

Notes to tables vi

Introduction 1

Summary of main findings 2

1 *The sample* 5

2 *The men and their work* 6
  Skill and training 6
  Craft, skill, training and certificates 7
  The men's employers 9
  Background and personal characteristics 10

3 *Coming and going: how men enter and leave the construction industry and the means they use to find new jobs within it* 11
  Entering and leaving the industry 11
    Becoming a construction worker 11
    Leaving the construction industry 12
    Work and health 13
    Finding, leaving and losing jobs 15
  Finding work within the construction industry 15
  Leaving jobs, mostly in construction 17

4 *Job mobility and its hazards: work outside construction, redundancy and unemployment* 19
  Memory and reported job mobility 20
  The hazards of mobility 20
    Work outside the construction industry 21
    Voluntary and involuntary mobility 21
    Duration of employment and entitlement to redundancy pay 22
    Unemployment 24
  Mobility and its hazards—a discontinuity 26

5 *Personal and occupational characteristics most associated with mobility* 30
  Age 30
  Other personal characteristics 31
  Type of work 31
  Type of employer 35

6 *Geographical mobility, work and job mobility* 37

7 *The self-employed man* 39

8 *Pay and hours* 42

9 *Hours, earnings and mobility* 44

10 *The main divisions of the labour market* 47
  How the market is divided 47
  Features of the different parts of the labour market 50

11 Attitudes and mobility 54
Mens attitudes 54
Attitudes and mobility 55
Satisfaction and mobility 56

Appendix A The sample 62
Sample design 62
Definition of 'construction worker' 62
Response 63
The effect on the survey's results of non-response to the main stage interviews 63
Sampling error 64

Appendix B 66
The questionnaire 67
Self-completion sheet 90
Calendar check 91

Notes to tables

Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding. They have been rounded to the nearest whole number and those ending in .5 to the nearest even number.

0 denotes 0.5% or less including zero.

— denotes not applicable.

.. denotes base numbers are too small to calculate percentages.

Introduction

The Construction Industry Mobility Survey had these research aims:

> To measure the *rate* of past employment mobility among men currently employed as manual operatives in the construction industry.
>
> To describe the character of this mobility, particularly in terms of the *way* in which men leave one employer and join another.
>
> To examine some of the *hazards* of mobility with particular reference to involuntary mobility and men's entitlement to redundancy payments.
>
> To enquire into the *antecedents* of mobility as they may be found in men's personal characteristics, in the nature of their work, their employers, or in other aspects of their experiences over the five years preceding mid-1979, and to learn something of the relationship between men's attitudes towards mobility and work in construction and their actual behaviour.

This information was sought to serve immediate needs associated with the work of the Construction Industry Manpower Board (CIMB), to whom this report was first submitted in 1980. The CIMB has now been wound up. The survey was initiated by the Department of the Environment under the last Government and carried out by the Social Survey Division of the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys. In the final stage of the survey, 1,969 men were interviewed beween March and June 1979 and each gave a detailed account of his work over the preceding five years. The information men gave us and our analysis of it forms the basis of this report. It was intended to be a picture of work in the construction industry seen through the reality of men's own experiences. It is this and, we hope, something more. Read constructively, the survey should serve a wider aim and lead to a better understanding of how the labour market in the construction industry works and how it affects the working lives of the men who comprise it.

Summary of main findings

Chapter 2 The men and their work

Seventy per cent of the currently hireable workforce of manual operatives work as paid employees, 10% are unemployed, and 20% are working as self-employed men. (Page 6)

Whereas 62% of the men claim their jobs are classified by their employer as 'skilled', 22% as 'semi-skilled' and only 16% as 'unskilled', no more than half claim to have received any *formal* training and only 30% a written qualification. This contrast is greatest among plant operators, scaffolders, and plasterers. This discrepancy may reflect some men's failure to report on-the-job training as 'formal' training but also reflects genuine uncertificated upward skill-mobility. (Page 6)

There is widespread support for certification: 73% of employees and 61% of the self-employed think certificates recognising skill are 'a good idea'. No significant trade or other group, skilled or unskilled, shows majority opposition to the idea. Men's support rests mainly on the grounds that certificates would assist skilled men to get the jobs they want and would help to keep out unskilled opportunists. (Pages 6 – 7)

Sixteen per cent of the current workforce are employed in the public sector, 35% work for specialist firms, and 48% for general contractors. (Page 19)

Construction operatives tend to be younger than average; 64% are under forty-one, 28% are under twenty-five, otherwise their background profile is typical of male manual workers. (Page 10)

Chapter 3 Coming and going: how men enter and leave the construction industry and jobs within it

About half the sample say they entered the construction industry for largely positive reasons: for satisfying open air work, to get a trade or follow a family tradition. But a third of even the skilled workers spoke of a rather reluctant recruitment to building, it being the only kind of work available to them, and actually a majority of unskilled men said this. (Pages 11 – 12)

Most skilled men (86%) say they have spent most or all of their working life in construction but only half the unskilled men can say this, 31% having worked 'mostly at other jobs'. (Page 12)

There is a small amount of evidence from the few former construction workers interviewed that skilled men leave construction to take up unskilled work in other industries. The proportion of former construction workers saying definitely that their new job outside construction is skilled is only half that among their former colleagues remaining in the industry (30% as opposed to 62%) while the proportion saying it is unskilled is twice as great (31% as opposed to 15%). (Page 12)

Forty-three per cent of current workers say they are 'thinking of leaving the industry'—not all of them very seriously—and 41% of them say that a cash incentive would be their main reason for leaving while the remainder would seek more job satisfaction or less tiring working conditions, this especially to improve their health. However, only 17% of those having left in the past say they actually went for better money; the majority say they sought any job, or better security, or moved because no work was available in construction or for health reasons. (Page 13)

Overall, 15% report disabilities which prevent them from doing the kind of work or as much work as they might, half of them caused by accidents. This figure is low among young men, rises to 38% of the older men, but falls again to 23% among the oldest men. It seems likely that quite large numbers of men are invalided out of the construction industry as they get older and this problem may be especially serious among unskilled workers. The problem may start early among labourers, 19% of young labourers report having experienced unemployment due to ill-health compared to 5% overall, and 44% of labourers over fifty report a disability compared with one quarter of skilled men of the same age. (Pages 13 – 15)

In finding new jobs men prefer and use informal methods. They ask friends for news of work or personally tour site offices. Failing that they scan advertisements or write to firms. Only about one in ten jobs are found through job centres which seem popular only with the youngest and oldest men and the unskilled. (Pages 15 – 16)

Only 38% of men believe they 'generally have a free choice' of the kind of job they get; 56% agree that they 'usually have to take whatever job is going'. (Page 16)

Not more than one new job in four is accepted for improved pay whereas about 40% are accepted because it is the only work available, the remainder for more positive and personal reasons. (Page 16)

The largest single reason for leaving a job is redundancy (40%) and about half of the jobs are left involuntarily for one reason or another. Few men receive redundancy payments. (Pages 17 – 18). When only construction jobs are considered (see Chapter 4 page 29) the figure for redundancy is 42% and all involuntary moves add up to 58% of the total.

Chapter 4 Job mobility and its hazards

The crucial measure of job mobility is provided in Table 4.1. It shows that 40% of the current workforce have remained with their employers for more than five years, 18% have changed jobs once, 13% twice, 11% three times, 7% four times, and 11% between five and thirteen times in the past four years. (Page 19)

This distribution of job mobility is almost certainly an underestimate. A comparison of the number of new jobs which our informants reported for each of the five years 1974 to 1978 suggests the proportion of new jobs which they managed to remember declined as they were asked to recall events further back in time. It is likely that 10% or more of the jobs started between January 1974 and December 1978 have been missed for this reason. It is possible to speculate that many of these lapses of memory are associated with short-lived jobs lasting less than one year. (Page 20)

Of those (60% of the current workforce) who have changed jobs at all in the past five years, 45% have worked outside the construction industry. This rate of recruitment into the industry or of exit-and-return increases in proportion to the job moves men make but it starts from a high base: of those moving only once, 35% were recruited from jobs in other industries. (Pages 20 – 21)

Both voluntary and involuntary mobility are common experiences in the construction industry; 51% have moved voluntarily and 38% (65% of movers) have (also) had the experience of being made redundant or being dismissed; 18% have experienced more redundancy than voluntary mobility. The rate of redundancy increases roughly in proportion to overall mobility but again moves from a high base: 36% of those moving only once have been made redundant and this has happened to 61% of those moving twice. (Pages 21 – 22)

In order to provide a background for the CIMB's review of how well the official redundancy scheme fits the circumstances of the construction industry a life table has been produced for construction jobs. This is based on jobs with construction organisations which our informants began during the 1974 – 1978 period—showing how long they lasted and why they came to an end. The survey provides no evidence that construction workers are failing to obtain redundancy payments to which they are technically entitled. (Pages 22 – 24)

More than one-in-ten men are currently unemployed and looking for work. The unemployment rate is between 5% and 6% among carpenters, electricians, and plant operators; it is between 7% and 10% among plumbers, plasterers and bricklayers; 15% among painters; and more than one quarter of the scaffolders and the labourers and mates are out of work. Forty one per cent of the current workforce has experienced unemployment over the past five years (ie 68% of movers). Again, this hazard does not fall disproportionately upon more mobile men, still 43% of those moving only once have experienced one or more spells of unemployment. (Pages 24 – 25)

The average amount of time men have spent unemployed by those men experiencing unemployment over the five-year period is about six months. Time spent unemployed is closely associated with involuntary mobility but work outside construction is associated with voluntary mobility. A close examination of this evidence suggests that work outside construction is part of a strategy used by more resourceful men to avoid unemployment and redundancy within the industry. (Pages 25 – 29)

Chapter 5 Personal and occupational characteristics most associated with mobility

The single factor that is most strongly associated with job mobility is age: the highest levels of mobility are found in the 20 – 35 age-group, more than 40% having had four or more jobs in five years. The under 20's are 'pre-mobile' trainees while the older workers progressively settle down. The rate drops to about 30% having had four or more jobs in the 36 – 50 age-group, and drops again down to an average of 10% among the over 50's. If older men move, they are more prone to be unemployed, they take longer to find new work, and are more likely to move involuntarily than by choice. (Pages 30 – 31)

Comparing craft groups, those most secure in their employment are electricians and plumbers and the least secure are bricklayers and, especially, scaffolders. Labourers are more mobile than skilled men. Those differences are accentuated when the analysis is controlled for age: for example, young electricians are twice as secure as young bricklayers, older electricians are three times more secure. Young labourers are very mobile indeed. (Pages 31 – 34)

Unskilled men suffer a high rate of redundancy and unemployment and young labourers experience enormous amounts of unemployment, some of it apparently connected to ill-health. (Pages 34 – 35)

Few differences in mobility are attributable to type of employer except that men in the public sector (17% of the sample) are very much more stable than those in the private sector. (Pages 35 – 36)

Chapter 6 Geographical mobility, work and job mobility

The extent of geographical mobility seems quite limited; more than half of men currently working on a fixed site travel less than five miles to it from their homes and only 20% travel more than fifteen miles. Few men work away from home and 81% express considerable reservations about doing so. (Page 36)

Most men deny any direct connection between choosing a new home and choosing a new job. But on the negative side, between 6% and 11% say they have experienced problems of getting or keeping jobs due to their inability to be geographically mobile daily, overnight, or by moving house. (Page 36)

Although men mostly deny a connection between geographical and job mobility, men who moved home also move jobs much more frequently than men who stay in one place. However, much of this association is attributable to age: young men move home and jobs but for reasons that do not connect the two, like marriage and family formation. (Pages 36 – 37)

Chapter 7 The self-employed man

The self-employed can be divided into two broad groups with very different characteristics—those who work for contractors and those who work direct to the public. A major reason for becoming self-employed, especially among the latter, is the desire for independence. (Pages 39 – 41)

Chapter 8 Pay and hours

A comparison of the information on pay and hours provided by our informants with the information provided by the 1979 New Earnings Survey (NES) suggests that our figures may under-estimate both earnings and hours worked. However, the differences between our figures and those provided by the NES are not great and there is little reason to doubt that our own figures are sufficiently accurate to serve as a basis for valid conclusions about the relationship of pay and hours to mobility. (Pages 42 – 43)

Chapter 9 Hours, earnings and mobility

The earnings of manual employees of construction organisations do appear to be related to their past mobility. Currently employed men who had held five or more jobs in the five years 1974 – 1978 earned an average of £95 before tax in the week before interview, compared to £80.30 for the men who did not change employer at all. Even so, there is a wide spread of earnings at all mobility levels. (Page 44)

The earnings/mobility relationship appears to be largely the result of some workers moving between employers in search of higher pay. However, men who made two or more moves in search of higher pay were no better off than men who only made one move to improve their earnings. (Pages 44 – 45)

Chapter 10 The main divisions of the labour market

Tables relating to all changes of job since January 1974 by men in the current workforce of the industry show a strong tendency, related to the degree of formal training needed to acquire the relevant skills, for men to stick to their particular crafts. Within the construction industry men tend to keep to employers specialising in a given type of work and there is some separation between the labour forces of the private and public sectors. (Pages 47 – 50)

These divisions of the labour market, the only ones which our data allowed us to investigate directly, are accompanied by differences in age, skill-level, earnings and length of service. The private and public sectors differ in the proportions of older workers, earning levels and average length of service while the labour forces of civil engineering and related firms differ from those of building and related firms in levels of skill and earnings. The strong relation that the geographical range of the employer has to earnings and length of service provides indirect evidence that the labour market for local firms might be partially distinct from that for national firms. (Pages 50 – 52)

The comparatively low earnings of men employed by public authorities raise the question of why men choose to work in the public sector. The desire for security of employment provides a partial explanation. (Pages 52 – 53)

Chapter 11 Attitudes and mobility

At first there seems to be some congruence between men's attitudes and behaviour. Those who agree with pro-mobility attitudes tend to have been more mobile than average, whilst those who value loyalty have been relatively stable. However, attitudes generally relate to both voluntary and involuntary mobility, whereas it would be expected that if men were acting totally in accordance with their preferences their pro-mobility attitudes would relate particularly to being voluntarily mobile. (Pages 54 – 56)

Four dimensions of satisfaction with various aspects of work in the construction industry were identified. These were security, skill, site and the convenience of the job. The greater the number of jobs men have had, the greater their sense of dissatisfaction with their security. This dissatisfaction is particularly strong when men have experience of redundancy or the sack. (Pages 56 – 58)

There is a strong positive correlation between being pro-mobility and resigned-to-mobility. Men can see mobility as an inevitable condition of employment in the industry and attempt to make the best of it, whilst at the same time suffering a sense of dissatisfaction with their security, something of great importance to over 90% of men. Site and convenience-of-job satisfactions are independent of mobility except for a small group of particularly mobile, particularly dissatisfied men. (Pages 58 – 59)

When asked whether they intended to leave their present employer in the foreseeable future, a large majority hoped to stay where they were. Men anticipating leaving were no more likely to have had a history of mobility than men who wanted to stay with their present employer. There appears to be a widespread desire for continuity of current employment in spite of previous experiences. (Pages 59 – 61)

1 The sample

An Appendix to this report provides a detailed description of the sampling procedure used for this survey. This chapter provides brief details necessary to understand the source of the information used in subsequent sections. The problems of identifying a representative sample of manual workers employed in the construction industry took up a great deal of the development work for this survey. Various approaches were tried and discarded, including the use of employers' registers and an extensive project to obtain a sample of construction workers using the 1977 Labour Force Survey as a database. Finally, it was decided to construct our own sample by means of an 'interviewer sift'.

Interviewers were sent to 47,712 addresses drawn at random from the Postcode File. A total of 42,444 of these addresses were found to be residential addresses containing a total of 43,382 households. From these households, 36,401 interviews were obtained, each representing the information given by a responsible adult concerning, principally, a description of the work done, now and one year previously, by each economically active male living there. This represents a response rate of 84%. Analysis of this information identified the home addresses of 2,752 men who appeared to be employed as manual workers, or as foremen who also did manual work as part of their everyday jobs, and who were employed by an enterprise whose description appeared to qualify it as part of the construction industry either now or one year previously. Thus, as we had expected, we found a construction worker living at approximately every 13th household. To each of these men we sent another interviewer.

In 105 cases, on examining his employment details more closely this second interviewer found that her respondent clearly was not, after all, employed in the construction industry. This left us a set sample of eligible respondents of 2,647 men which was further reduced by 153 to 2,494 when interviews obtained with them showed that they too were not working for firms strictly conforming to the definition of the construction industry. Full interviews were obtained with 1,969 men, a response rate of 79%. Of those not interviewed, half (11% of the total) refused an interview and the remainder, 10% overall, were not contactable at all—though only 65 men were known to have moved without trace. Most of the non-contacts were attributable to holidays or illness.

This total was considerably reduced from the 2,650 we had estimated would be the final yield from an initial total of 47,712 addresses. This is believed to result from two main factors:

> The initial estimate assumed a sift response rate of 90% which was reduced to 84% by the poor weather and industrial difficulties during January to March of 1979.
>
> A response rate of 85% had been assumed for the mainstage interviews. We had overestimated some men's availability for interview and the difficulties of fitting all the interviews into the time available, particularly since interviewing was interrupted by the 1979 General Election Campaign, reduced this to 79%.

However, the main characteristics of the sample are examined closely in Appendix A and we have no reason to believe that the sample obtained is substantially biased in any important way with respect to the true distribution of the population it is taken to represent. A close examination of this sample was especially necessary since it was obtained through a complex two-stage procedure. Appendix A gives the details and supports the conclusion that there seems no reason to suppose that the construction workers identified by the sift but not interviewed in the mainstage follow-up differed systematically from those interviewed so as to create any substantial bias in the results reported in this volume.

2 The men and their work

A total of 1,969 men were interviewed. Table 2.1 partitions these men, first, into two groups: the 1,766 men who make up the 'currently hireable workforce' of manual operatives in the industry and the 203 remaining who divide between 75 men who, for reasons of long-term illness, retirement, etc, have been taken out of the labour force and 128 who comprise a special sample of men working in construction one year ago but who subsequently left and are now working in other industries. Of the currently hireable workforce, 1,242 (70%) are employees—though 59 of them (3% of the currently hireable workforce) are presently 'off sick' or laid-off work for some reason—172 (10%) are 'unemployed and looking for work', and 352 (20%) are working as self-employed manual operatives of one kind or another.

For the most part, the analysis presented in this report will concentrate on the current workforce, being current employees and the unemployed men taken together. The self-employed and the former construction workers will be kept separate, as appropriate. This is because the report will focus strongly upon *employment* mobility and self-employment is, in effect, a special case of mobility. We will include and attempt to assess the role of the self-employed in the labour market (see Chapter 7) and will use their data for comparison purposes at various points in the narrative. But the core of our concern in this report is the rate of employment mobility, its background, its character, and its correlates and so most tables will be based on the 1414 men employed and unemployed as manual operatives in construction.

Skill and training

Sixty-two per cent of the current workforce claim their job is described by their employer as 'skilled' or is, at least, paid for as such, 22% described as 'semi-skilled', and 16% as 'unskilled'. Though this question was asked with particular care (Questions 2(b) and (c) page 4) the preponderance of 'skilled' replies contrasts oddly with replies men gave to a direct question (Question 55, p 63) concerning their actual training. Only 43% ever started an apprenticeship and only 36% completed one. Only 11% completed any other kind of formal training and, overall, only 30% say they can produce a written certificate of skill, which is little more than half the total recognised by their employers as skilled. The same contrast appears among the self employed; 82% represent themselves as skilled men (quite possibly with every natural right, of course) while only 38% can offer a written certificate.

Table 2.1 Working status of interview sample

		% of 'hireable workforce'
		%
Men currently employed, working now as manual workers in construction	1183	67
Men employed as 1 but currently laid off, sick or otherwise 'off work'	59	3
Total current employees	**1242**	**70**
Men whose last job was as a manual worker in construction who are now 'unemployed and looking for work'	172	10
Total in 'current workforce'	**1414**	
Men working now as self-employed manual operatives in construction	352	20
Total in 'hireable workforce'	**1766**	**100**
Men whose last job in past 12 months was as manual workers in construction but who are now retired, long-term disabled, etc or who have been promoted during survey period	75	
Men who were employed as manual workers in construction one year previously but who now work in other industries	128	
Total sample interviewed	**1969**	

Table 2.2 shows this contrast directly, cross tabulating skill defined by qualification and by employer's description. We find first that there is a little downward skill-mobility as well as the greater amount of skill-climbing; 10% of former apprentices and 32% of ex-trainees from other schemes (including Government Training Courses) are still classified by employers as 'semi-skilled' or 'unskilled'. In contrast, 36% of those having no formal training have managed to gain recognition as 'skilled' employees and 38% as 'semi-skilled'.

Table 2.2 Self-reported skill level by training

Present skill level defined or paid for by employer	Apprenticeships (completed or not)	Government training centre	Other formal training	No formal training
	%	%	%	%
Skilled	90	68	80	36
Semi-skilled	5	16	14	38
Unskilled	4	16	7	26
	100	100	100	100
Base	*612*	*71*	*89*	*694*

This suggestion of mobility between the skill-grades is further supported by the fact that 28% of the current workforce and 33% of the self-employed claim to have worked both as labourers and as tradesmen during their time in the construction industry. It is also worth noting here that a popular image of large numbers of self-employed unskilled labourers working in the construction industry is not supported by the data. Only 5% of the self employed have always worked as a labourer and only 3% admit to being unskilled.

Craft, skill, training and certificates

Table 2.3 shows the distribution of the current workforce and of the self-employed men among the craft-specialist trade groups. In more detail Table 2.4 shows the reported skill-grading and training of each trade group. Most of the men following the more traditional crafts, like carpenters, bricklayers, electricians, and plumbers nearly all claim classification as 'skilled' and most of them were apprenticed or trained in other ways. On the other hand, 31% of painters, 46% of plasterers and tilers, 55% of scaffolders and steel fixers, and an extraordinary 81% of mechanical equipment operators claim to have had no formal training to do their semi-skilled or, mostly, skilled jobs. So it appears that upward skill-mobility is concentrated in just a few, low-technology or new trade groups whose members may not have had the need or the time to institutionalise their training before the post-war movement towards a shortening of apprentice periods and progressive de-skilling of operative functions occurred under the impact of technological change and changing management policies. On the other hand, we feel it is probably fair to query our own use of the word 'formal' in defining other kinds of training in the question. Many men may not have included on-the-job training in their idea of formal training and so answered "no formal training" despite having been quite thoroughly trained by an employer or by, say, a plant equipment manufacturer. It really does not seem very likely that employers are paying men skilled rates and entrusting to their care very expensive items of equipment and its proper use with respect to other men's safety while giving them no training at all. These results do emphasise, however, the informal nature of training in some sectors of the industry and it is seen as such by the men.

This apparent contrast between qualifications and recognised skill leads naturally to the issue of certification. This issue was dealt with explicitly in the questionnaire and may conveniently be discussed at this point. Men were asked:

> *"It has been suggested that all qualified or experienced workers in the construction industry should be given a certificate. This certificate would describe their training and experience. They would show this certificate to an employer when they apply for a job. The idea is that this would help employers choose the best qualified or experienced man for the job. On the whole do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?"*

Table 2.3 Distribution of crafts: employees and self-employed

	Carpenters and joiners	Bricklayers	Electricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mechanical equipment operators	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders and steel-fixers	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations
Current workforce* *Base (=100%) 1242*	11%	9%	7%	8%	10%	6%	4%	4%	16%	16%	9%
Self-employed *Base (=100%) 352*	16%	13%	4%	8%	17%	1%	7%	1%	26%	4%	2%

*Including unemployed.

Table 2.4 Skill and training by craft group

	Carpenters and joiners	Bricklayers	Electricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mechanical equipment operators	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders and steel-fixers	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Skill											
Skilled	97	98	92	97	92	49	81	59	38	8	36
Semi-skilled	2	2	5	2	6	44	17	39	43	37	34
Unskilled	1	0	3	1	2	7	2	2	19	55	30
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Training*											
Apprenticeship	83	74	77	76	65	15	46	20	21	9	14
Government training scheme	6	9	4	7	4	4	7	6	4	4	6
Other formal training	12	5	8	11	3	4	6	24	6	2	2
No formal training	14	16	16	14	31	81	46	55	70	86	81
Base	*159*	*124*	*98*	*114*	*144*	*90*	*55*	*51*	*221*	*231*	*127*

*NB Some men underwent more than one form of training so totals will exceed 100%.

When referendum-style questions like this are asked in surveys it is sometimes difficult to know how much information or judgement respondents might bring to their reply. So we took the precaution of asking all those who replied to the main question above: *'Why do you say that?'*

On the initial choice, the result was as follows:—

Certificates are:	*Employees*	*Self-employed*
A good idea	73%	61%
A bad idea	22%	36%
Don't know	4%	3%

Thus, the idea of certification appears well received by the men, especially among employees, whom it most effects, rather than among the self-employed many of whom might be more accustomed to trading on their reputation for skill than on its certified fact.

The unskilled men might also be expected to oppose certification on the ground that it may appear to close doors of opportunity to them. The following table, Table 2.5, indicates that this is not the case; the support for certification among unskilled men is very similar to that of the tradesmen and it is possible they see in it not a threat of exclusion but perhaps a late opportunity to acquire recognition for their skill.

Table 2.5 Support for certification by skill level

Certificates are:	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
	%	%	%
A good idea	74	75	67
A bad idea	24	22	19
Don't know	2	3	14
	100	100	100
Base	*860*	*307*	*217*

Among the employee trade-groups there were few significant differences in their support for certification except that bricklayers were less enthusiastic about the idea (34% thought it a bad idea) while mechanical equipment operators were strongly in favour (81% for). This is particularly interesting since mechanical equipment operators exemplify the upwardly-mobile skilled worker who has had no formal training.

On the other hand, a separate analysis showed that when reported skill-grade and qualification were considered simultaneously in their impact on views about certification, men who claimed to be paid as skilled but who had had no formal training were really no more and no less likely to support certification than other men who had skilled status and qualifications or men who had neither.

This is an important point and is illustrated in more detail in Table 2.6 which shows the proportion of men in favour of certification separately within each craft group, further divided by those having served apprenticeships, other kinds of training, or who are without qualifications. Again we find that no substantial sector of the current workforce feels aggrieved by the idea of certificating skilled but unqualified men. Those few men who have gained entry into the more traditional skills are somewhat less enthusiastic, possibly because some among them fear they will not be given a certificate and so themselves be deprived of their skilled status. Conversely, a similarly small group of men who underwent training but who somehow have ended up as labourers are anxious almost to a man to be certificated anew. These exceptions apart, the large majority in favour of certification remains fairly constant throughout the trade groups and qualification levels.

Our doubts about the true level of information and judgement that might underlie such a choice were quickly dispelled by the rich vein of opinion men produced to justify their view of certification as a good or a bad idea (see Table 2.7). Those in favour of certificates mostly held the view that it would assist skilled men in getting jobs and it would place a barrier in the way of unqualified and actually unskilled men masquerading as tradesmen and receiving skilled men's rates of pay. Some bitterness was expressed about the activities of these 'cowboys' and 'bodgers' as they were called. Even unskilled men were eager to express this view. Those opposed to certificates justified their view with an appeal for fairness towards otherwise skilled men who had failed to obtain recognition and added a warning about the possibility of abuses of the system, forgery of certificates, and like practices.

Table 2.6 Proportion in favour of certification among men having different kinds of training within craft groups

	Carpenters and joiners	Bricklayers	Electricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mechanical equipment operators	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders and steel-fixers	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations
Apprentices	77%	67%	76%	78%	77%	. .	80%	. .	77%	95%	72%
Base (=100%)	*132*	*92*	*75*	*87*	*92*	*13*	*25*	*10*	*48*	*20*	*18*
Other training	61%	59%	. .	80%	. .	. .	. .	86%	64%	. .	. .
Base (=100%)	*28*	*17*	*12*	*20*	*10*	*6*	*7*	*15*	*22*	*14*	*9*
No formal training	64%	45%	75%	63%	73%	82%	64%	82%	66%	71%	77%
Base (=100%)	*22*	*20*	*16*	*16*	*44*	*72*	*25*	*28*	*153*	*197*	*101*

. . Base number too small to percentage.

Table 2.7 Reasons for supporting or rejecting certification

	Employees*	Self-employed	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
	%	%	%	%	%
It is a *good* idea because:					
It would help qualified men get work ('Proof of a man's skill')	39	28	38	46	41
It would stop unqualified men getting work ('Keep out the cowboys')	38	38	42	35	32
It would improve standards of work	12	13	14	11	8
It would improve safety standards at work ('You get a lot of idiots on sites')	8	2	6	14	7
Pay would reflect skill, a proper reward for skills	7	6	8	5	6
It would help employers get the best men	4	5	5	3	3
Other answers	15	12	15	14	18
It is a *bad* idea because:					
Proven ability on site count for more than paper qualifications	16	27	17	15	13
Those without certificates would be unfairly excluded from work despite having some ability	5	6	4	6	7
Systems involving cards are open to abuse and 'fiddles'	3	5	2	4	3
Other non-committal replies	4	6	4	3	4
	†	†	†	†	†
Base	*1414*	*352*	*860*	*307*	*217*

**Including unemployed*
†Some men gave more than one reply so totals will exceed 100%

The men's employers

Seventeen per cent of our sample of the current workforce are employed in the public sector, the great majority of them by Local Authority building, maintenance, and highways departments; only 2% work for a nationalised industry (mostly for British Rail) or Government departments (for example, the Property Services Agency). The remainder working in the private sector divide themselves between general construction firms, comprising 48% of the current workforce, and the remaining third work for specialist contractors. Our sampling methods have succeeded in including men working in all of the twenty six construction specialisms listed by the Department of the Environment except those doing suspended ceiling work—though many of the rarer specialisms are represented by only a few men (see Table 2.8). Two thirds of these specialist contractors are said by their men to work both to other contractors and to the general public with only about 10% limiting their operations to the latter. Nearly all specialist companies are also said to provide materials and machinery as well as labour and only four per cent of the men appear to work for labour-only sub-contractors. We suspect, however, that men may not have shared the assumption built into the questionnaire that labour-only sub-contractors were specialist companies so we may have difficulty in locating in the data all the men so employed. All divisions of the private sector by product specialism (house building, commercial building, civil engineering etc) are represented.

Table 2.9 divides each of the eleven main trade groups into employment in the public sector or in the private sector for specialists or general contractors. Across the eleven groups, the proportion employed in the public sector is constant at around 10–20%, except among the more diverse specialist occupations (29%) and drivers and other miscellaneous unskilled (27%). Of the remaining majority working for private companies, carpenters, bricklayers, labourers and drivers tend overwhelmingly to work for general contractors while electricians, plumbers, painters, plasterers and scaffolders work for specialist firms.

Men employed in the private sector were asked to estimate the size of their employer's company in terms of the numbers he employed and the geographical scale of his operations. These estimates are summarised in Table 2.10. Naturally, just about all our self-employed men are those who have formed themselves into one-man specialist sub-contractors since we excluded anyone employing others. The majority of them (74%) work independently and few of the remainder (7% of the self-employed) have entered into a formal partnership.

Table 2.8 Distribution of specialisms

	% of total in private sector		% of recognisable one-trade specialisms		*Base (=100%)*
General building	39	58%	—		*462*
Civil engineering	12		—		*144*
Building and CE	7		—		*82*
Plumbing	1	6%	4	17%	*16*
Heating and ventilating	3		8		*32*
Plumbing and HV	2		5		*21*
Joinery and carpenters	1		3		*12*
Painting and decorating	6		19		*73*
Roofing	1		4		*14*
Plastering	1		4		*15*
Glazing	0		1		*2*
Demolition	1		5		*8*
Scaffolding	2		8		*18*
Reinforced concrete work	0		0		*1*
Electrical contracting	6		17		*66*
Asphalt and surface work	0		2		*7*
Construction plant hire	3		8		*21*
Flooring	0		0		*1*
Constructional engineering	1		4		*18*
Insulating work	0		1		*4*
Suspended ceiling	0		0		*0*
Wall and floor tiling	0		1		*2*
Open cast coalmining	1		2		*7*
Ultra specialisms	4		12		*47*
Unidentifiable from respondent's description	10		—		*117*

Table 2.9 Sector of employment by craft group

	Carpenters and joiners	Bricklayers	Electricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mechanical equipment operators	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders and steel-fixers	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Specialist firms	14	6	79	60	52	43	53	65	23	22	27
General contractors	70	79	6	21	28	47	35	35	48	67	50
Public sector, mainly LA's	16	15	15	19	20	10	12	0	29	11	23
	100					100					
Base	*159*	*124*	*98*	*114*	*144*	*90*	*55*	*51*	*221*	*231*	*127*

Table 2.10 Estimated size of employer and scale of his operations

Numbers employed

7 or Less	8–24	25–59	60–99	100–299	300–1000	More than 1000	Don't know	*Base (=100%)*
14%	19%	16%	8%	10%	10%	16%	9%	*1156*

'Would you say your firm....'

Just does local work	Work up to 50 miles away	Up to 150 miles away	Works all over Britain	Don't know	*Base (=100%)*
17%	27%	17%	37%	2%	*1156*

Table 2.11 Age of construction workers

		Age-group										*Base (=100%)*
		15–20	21–25	26–30	31–35	36–40	41–45	46–50	51–55	56–60	Over 60	
Current workforce	%	14	14	12	13	11	8	7	8	7	5	*1414*
Self-employed	%	2	7	18	19	16	16	9	5	5	4	*352*
Former construction workers (excluding the retired)	%	15	19	16	10	7	12	9	7	2	3	*124*

Background and personal characteristics

Manual workers in the construction industry have very much the background profile one would expect to find for working class men in Britain. The majority are married (70%) and living with their families. Half live in council accommodation though considerable numbers too have ventured into home ownership (40%)—especially the self-employed (65%). A large number of men (30% of employees and 27% of the self-employed) claim to have fathers who worked, or still work, in the construction industry—a rate of 'inheritance' three times greater than one would expect by chance. Unlike those of many neighbouring European countries, Britain's construction labour force is overwhelmingly (89%) native-born. Whatever may be the conventional wisdom on the subject, only 6% claim to have been born in Ireland and a further 3% claim Irish fathers.

The workforce of the construction industry differs from that of most other industries in one important respect: its age distribution: Table 2.1 supports the widespread assumption that building is a young man's trade.

In other large, long established industries one would expect to find men's age distribution to be divided in half either side of the age of forty. Among employees in construction, 64% are under 40 and only 36% between 40 and 65. This suggests that old men leave the industry in quite large numbers and we will return to this topic a little later. For the moment it should be noted that our sample of former construction workers has a bi-modal age distribution: they tend to be young or older but not in the middle age range. This qualifies the speculation that older men leave the industry. It seems likely that older men do leave the industry and few new recruits to construction work are over forty, while young men move in and out of construction. It is certainly noticeable that older men tend to accumulate in public sector employment where 52% are over forty compared to 32% in the private sector.

3 Coming and going: how men enter and leave the construction industry and the means they use to find new jobs within it

Entering and leaving the industry

Becoming a construction worker

Men were asked to say what, as they remembered, was their main original reason for taking a job in the construction industry and how consistently they had worked in the construction industry rather than other kinds of work. Our purpose in asking had rather more to do with getting men into a reflective frame of mind prior to tackling the difficult task of recalling their job histories in detail over the past five years than with obtaining very accurate data about events which, for many men, occurred many years previously, but the results proved interesting.

Reasons given for joining the industry are analysed in Table 3.1 and comprise reasons both for joining initially and for returning after a spell in other kinds of work. A narrow majority of reasons for entering construction work are of a positive, optimistic character, having to do with the intrinsic attraction of building, being out in the open air, and seeking better pay. Surprisingly, though, only 8% specifically mentioned 'getting a trade'.

Although nearly one third of our sample had fathers in the building trade, only 7% said they consciously and willingly followed their family tradition. Thirty seven per cent of men had generally less optimistic reasons, many saying that it was the only type of work available to them and this is especially true of those returning to the industry from a spell in other work. Some may find this rather high figure of 37% of men being apparently reluctant recruits to construction work discouraging. It tends to reinforce a view of the industry as a 'fall-back' occupation; if no other work is available, one can always try for a job 'on the buildings'. One might easily imagine this to be true of the unskilled men and, indeed, actually a majority of them (57%) give these negative reasons for entering construction as a labourer. But still 32% of the skilled men and 33% of the semi-skilled admit to being reluctant recruits to construction.

For the sample as a whole, the balance of men's activities between construction and other work showed that 75% had spent all or most of their working lives in the construction industry, 13% had divided their time between construction and other work more or less evenly and the remaining 12% had worked mostly at other, overwhelmingly manual jobs. However, this balance differed very greatly among different groups of men.

For example, rather more of the self-employed (83%) had mostly confined themselves to construction work. Among skilled men, the mechanical equipment operatives were more likely than other tradesmen to have worked outside the industry but the real contrast is between skilled men as a whole and the unskilled, as shown in Table 3.2. Whereas only 14% of skilled men in the current workforce (and only 8% of those having ever started an apprenticeship) have strayed much out of construction and returned, 33% of the semi-skilled and 51% of the unskilled have moved freely in and out of other kinds of work, returning, for the present, to a job in construction. Thus it appears that the acquisition of tradesmen status (however acquired) 'bonds' men to the industry far more effectively than those whose work is not classified as skilled. On the other hand, the wide differences described by Table 3.2 might also be explained at least partly by younger skilled men having joined the industry as apprentices straight from school

Table 3.1 Reasons for entering construction work

	First entering		Rejoining	
	Employees	Self-employed	Employees	Self-employed
	%	%	%	%
Personal, positive reasons (for example, interest, satisfaction, variety, had a flair for it, wanted to work with my hands, etc)	16	23	17	..
Need for an open air job	15	14	11	..
Instrumental reasons to do with getting a trade	8	7	0	..
Following a family tradition	7	9	0	..
Seeking better pay	17	13	28	..
Because it was the only job going	17	10	21	..
Other personal mostly negative reasons (for example, forced into it, no qualifications)	19	23	23	..
Don't know	1	1	1	..
	100	100	100	..
Base	*1414*	*352*	*90*	

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while their unskilled peers *and* older unskilled men joined the industry later.

Table 3.2 Proportion of working life spent in construction by reported skill level (current workforce)

Time in construction	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
	%	%	%
All working life	53	19	17
Most of working life	33	48	32
Half of working life	9	18	20
Mostly worked at other jobs	5	15	31
	100	100	100
Base	*860*	*307*	*217*

Leaving the construction industry

Aside from those retiring from their work having reached pensionable age, our sample included 128 men who had been employed as construction workers one year previously but were now employed in other, mostly manual occupations, except for ten men who had tried other work but were again unemployed. This is not a very large sample to provide a basis for describing what kinds of men leave the industry. The 'one year ago' qualification is also an arbitrary restriction on the sample's representativeness of former construction workers in general. It would therefore be rather a sterile procedure to compare them, point by point, with the current workforce since conclusions based upon observed differences would provide a very uncertain basis from which to justify conclusions about what kinds of men are likely to leave the industry more than other kinds.

We can, however, point to one important difference since it aligns with an earlier suggestion that unskilled men are more likely to move in and out of the industry than are men claiming skilled status. Table 3.3 shows clearly that former construction workers include half the proportion of skilled men among their ranks (30%) than that to be found among the present workforce (62%).

Table 3.3 Skill levels of current and former construction workers

	Current workforce	Former construction workers
	%	%
Skilled	62	30
Semi-skilled	22	24
Unskilled	16	31
No information	2	15
	100	100
Base	*1414*	*128*

Since these estimates are based on men's current job, it is possible that some men skilled in construction work of some kind have gone to unskilled work elsewhere. This speculation is supported by the fact that 34% of the former construction workers completed an apprenticeship or other training in construction (compared with 36% in the current workforce) and the proportion of former construction workers claiming formal construction training of any kind is 48%, not very much lower than the 51% in the current workforce. The proportion able to offer paper qualifications is identical: 30%.

On the other hand, the former construction workers tend more to be men with a history of migration in and out of the industry, 40% having worked no more than half their working lives in construction compared with 25% among the current workforce.

A strong focus of interest is why men leave the construction industry. We were able to put this question, in an open, unstructured way, to four different kinds of men:

The former construction workers.

Current construction workers who in the past had left the industry and returned.

Men currently out of work who are seeking work outside the industry, and,

Current workers whom we asked to speculate about the possibility of their leaving the industry in the future.

Naturally, the question arises in a different context for each of these four groups and assumes a different form (*'Why did you . . .'*, *'Why might you . . .'* etc) but some interesting comparisons can be made. The wide range of reasons given by men actually or potentially leaving the industry is analysed into twelve categories in Table 3.4.

First, it is interesting to note that 43% of currently employed construction workers are thinking about leaving the industry—though possibly only in the vaguest terms, while 54% of the currently unemployed are definitely considering work elsewhere.

Disappointingly, those actually leaving most recently (the former construction workers) were least able to account for their actions (15% gave no answer) and 12% of the 'returners' could not say why they left though men contemplating a move to other kinds of work were more emphatic about their (potential) reasons. Among the leavers and returners, about one in ten said they had been dismissed whereas a similar proportion had left for positive gains in job security and had left before their fears of losing their apparently insecure foothold in the construction industry were realised. Twice as many (18%) of the currently unemployed, naturally enough, sought more security of tenure outside the industry while an equal number said more plainly they needed to take any job they could find, construction work or not. Among the unemployed and among the leavers and returners, only 17% mentioned being drawn out of the industry by a straight cash incentive of better pay but 41% of the current workers said that more money *would* be the main incentive encouraging them to abandon building work if they were ever to do so. This probably reflects more wishful thinking than determination to leave. The returners were more likely than others to say their temporary departure from the industry was prompted by the depressed state of their local labour market.

Four categories of reasons (3, 5, 6 and 7) all have something to do with health and physical well-being, either

Table 3.4 Reason for leaving the construction industry or for thinking about doing so

'What was/might be your main reason for leaving the construction industry'	Former construction workers	Current workers who once left and returned	Unemployed men seeking other kinds of work	Current workers thinking about leaving construction work
	%	%	%	%
1 No work available in construction	8	10	10	3
2 Cash incentive, better pay	17	17	17	41
3 Desire for sick pay and pension scheme	2	1	0	0
4 Seeking more job satisfaction	6	16	8	9
5 For better working conditions (drier, warmer, cleaner, etc)	9	3	2	6
6 Health problems	5	3	10	9
7 Fear of bad weather	4	2	2	3
8 To avoid travelling	5	3	1	2
9 For better job security	11	7	18	13
10 Need for *any* job	1	0	20	0
11 Was dismissed	9	10	0	0
12 Other answers	8	16	8	10
13 No answer given	15	12	4	2
	100	100	100	100
Base	*128*	*206*	*100*	*533*

directly or by implication (the need to get away from cold, wet and physically stressful work). The returners—having returned, of course—are least likely to have been forced out of construction through poor health or physical deterioration of some kind, but 14% of the unemployed and 20% of the former workers have this kind of problem now, and 18% of the current workers fear this might be their reason for leaving construction work in the future.

Work and health

It will be remembered from Chapter I that the youthful age bias of the sample was attributed to older men leaving construction and not returning. There seems no other explanation. It is reasonable to suppose from the data in Table 3.4 that this loss of older men to other industries has something to do with the effects upon men's health of physically demanding work and it seems worthwhile to take up this point in more detail.

Men were asked about their health:

"Do you have any particular health problems or any disability which affects the kind *of work or* how much *work you can do?"*

Among the current workforce, an unexpectedly high proportion, one in six or seven men, admit to such disability and less than half of these men are able to report much recent improvement in their condition—surprisingly so since the interviews were conducted at the most favourable time for health; the late spring and early summer. Even so, 19% of these men (all of whom are 15% of the sample, of course) still complained of respiratory problems (especially chronic bronchitis) and 27% suffered with afflictions of the joints and hands like arthritis or the legacy of some injury. The other most common problem, predictably, concerned back injuries (24%) incurred mostly through lifting or persistent heavy work in damp conditions. Within the open-ended replies, the cause of these disabilities could be inferred in only half the replies, principally accidents and contact with injurious working conditions. But when men were asked whether their disability could be traced to an accident or contamination of one kind or another, 48% said that it could (see Table 3.5).

Table 3.5 Main kinds of disabilities

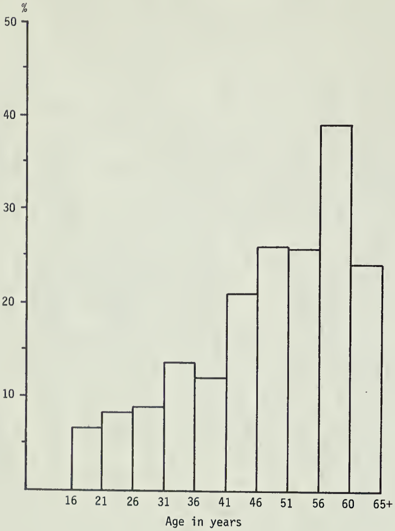
Of the 15% of the current workforce who report disability		(% of total current workforce)
Conditions of joints and extremities (for example, arthritis, rheumatism, injuries to hands, wrists, etc)	27%	(4%)
Chronic infections or weakness of respiratory tract (especially bronchitis)	19%	(3%)
Problem within alimentary tract (especially ulcers and hernias)	6%	(1%)
Skin conditions (especially allergies)	4%	(1%)
Back and lumbar weaknesses	24%	(4%)
Heart conditions	7%	(1%)
Mental illness	2%	..
Eye conditions	2%	..
Other problems with health	7%	(1%)
Base	*215*	*1414*

Believed caused by:	% of disabilities
An accident (a fall, struck by falling material, injured lifting etc)	21%
Working conditions (dust, asbestos, stressful work)	16%
Weather conditions (exposure to cold, wet, etc)	7%
Other event	4%
No cause explained spontaneously	52%
Base	*215*

Was it caused by an accident or poisoning?	
Yes	48%
No	47%
Don't know	5%
Base	*214*

All this information points to the presence within the current workforce of a worryingly high proportion of men who are, figuratively speaking, 'walking wounded and sick'. What is even more striking is the way this proportion changes across the age distribution from

Figure 1 Proportion of men who say they have some disability that prevents them from doing as much work or the kind of work they would like, by age



younger to older men. Figure 1 illustrates this finding clearly. As one might expect, below the age of thirty less than 10% of men report any disability; between thirty and forty this proportion rises to 13%; up to age fifty-five and sixty it peaks at 38% (nearly four out of ten men); and most interestingly of all, the proportion reporting disability falls back to 23% among the sixty to sixty-five age-group. The difference between those last two figures indicates that, whatever may be the rate of attrition in the workforce due to injury or general unfitness for a hard working life across the whole age range, considerable numbers of men are invalided out of the construction industry prior to reaching retirement age. As may be expected, this phenomenon occurs more often among the labourers and other unskilled workers (see Table 3.6) but is by no means confined to them; 44% of unskilled workers over the age of fifty report suffering some disability but still a quarter of their peers among the more skilled trades do so.

Table 3.6 Proportion of men reporting some disability by age, by skill

Reported skill-level	Age-group		
	16–35	36–50	Over 50
Skilled	8%	20%	26%
Base	*474*	*220*	*166*
Semi-skilled	9%	15%	25%
Base	*136*	*91*	*69*
Unskilled	8%	25%	44%
Base	*127*	*48*	*45*

During the section of the questionnaire examining their job histories, whose details we come to in the next section of this report, men reported what they were doing when not working whenever there appeared a gap in time before starting work or between jobs during the five year period investigated. Sometimes, men said, they were out of work because of some temporary health problem, that is, not merely off-sick but unemployed because of an inability to work through ill-health. Over the five year period, five per cent of the current workforce have had this experience. (Note that this figure excludes men who are currently unable to work for health reasons and, because this is a sample of current workers, gives no clue to the rate of men, having fallen too ill to be employed as construction workers any longer, leave the industry. This figure measures past disablement which has now at least partially recovered.)

There are some interesting differences in this rate of past disablement among different groups of men. More than twice as many labourers (9%) have suffered a period of unemployment through sickness as have skilled men (4%) and this is entirely concentrated among labourers in the private sector (12% of labourers for specialist firms). One strange finding is that among *younger* labourers, aged 25–35, this past disablement rate is very high: 19%, but the rate drops to 4% among the 36–45 year olds, rising to 12%, evenly, among the over 50's. This suggests that the invaliding-out process suggested by the rate of present disablement starts among labourers at quite an early age, during their mid-thirties, perhaps. That is to say, when younger labourers suffer unemployment through sickness, they tend to return to construction; when older labourers suffer it, many go elsewhere, but when the relatively few remaining oldest labourers suffer it, many cannot go elsewhere. It should be noted that the base numbers for these percentages are too small to be absolutely confident that this conclusion is well-founded. However, it appears to have an association with similar evidence presented in Chapter 4.

Finding, leaving and losing jobs

This section narrows the focus of our enquiry to describe how men get work in construction or change from one employer to another, moving voluntarily or unavoidably. In so doing, this section serves as an introduction to our main topic of job mobility within the industry.

Finding work within the construction industry

To start on a subjective level: men were asked to consider five different ways people in the construction industry go about looking for work. These were:

"Ask friends"
"Go around sites or firms' offices"
"Follow-up ads in newspapers"
"Write or 'phone firms"
"Use labour exchange or job centres"

Men were told to put aside "*. . . the question of signing on just to get unemployment benefit*" and rank three of these five ways of seeking work in the order they would use them to help get a new job. The results are summarised in Table 3.7.

Men's preferences seem to be guided by a desire for informality. The least formal method of seeking employment in construction—asking friends—is by far the most preferred, ranked first or second by 61% of men. It seems that a lively informal labour exchange information service is socially transmitted. Failure to secure any promise from social contacts is most likely to be followed by a trip, in person, around sites where men might be hired on the spot—though naturally this method appeals more to men having 'site-appropriate' skills. From there it is a fairly random choice whether to make more formal approaches to firms, to respond to newspaper advertisements, and—marginally the last resort—to use the local labour exchange or job centres. It should be stressed that these are ranked-preferences not what men actually do; their behaviour when looking for jobs is examined below. On the other hand, the preferences of men who are actually unemployed at the moment are much the same as those currently in work which indicates that the formation of these preferred strategies is grounded in common experience.

Men's preference for the services of the job centre varies by age, skill, and craft. Very young men, especially apprentices, put their faith in the job centre (which may well have placed them in their present job) and men over fifty tend to rely on the job centre, perhaps being less certain of their marketable quality as workers. Unskilled and less well-paid workers too are prepared to turn earlier to job centres in their search for employment. Among the trade groups, mechanical equipment operators and scaffolders tend to devalue job centres while the less site-appropriate nature of the trade of painters and decorators tends to raise the usefulness of job centres in their eyes. It is probably more difficult for painters to go around sites since so much of their work is on existing buildings rather than new sites. The opposite is true for the young, mobile scaffolders and mechanical equipment operators.

So much for men's preferences, but are they realised in behaviour? Do preferred informal methods of seeking work actually bring rewards to the extent their popularity would predict? Table 3.8 sets out an analysis of men's replies to the question: *"How did you get work with this particular employer?"* which was asked for every job reported having been held by men over the past five years. (In using this arrangement of data we anticipate a little the analysis of job mobility in the next chapter below.) The relative efficacy of the different ways of seeking work seem to align very well with men's

Table 3.7 Men's preferences among five ways of looking for a new job

Rank	Ask friends	Go around sites	Follow-up ads in paper	Write or 'phone firms	Use labour exchange or job centre
	%	%	%	%	%
First	40	22	10	12	15
Second	21	27	18	17	17
Third	15	21	25	21	15
Fourth or fifth	23	29	46	49	52
No answer	1	1	1	1	1
	100	100	100	100	100
Base (current workforce) (= 1414)					

Table 3.8 How members of the present workforce obtained the jobs* they have held over the past five years

	Sequence position of jobs					
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th–7th	8th and more
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Went around sites or firms' offices	22	21	21	19	21	25
Through asking friends	20	22	23	26	22	17
Through a relative in the trade	12	9	5	5	4	1
Looked at adverts in newspapers	11	16	14	16	15	14
Used job centre	9	11	12	11	13	19
Approach from new employer	7	9	13	12	12	10
Other methods (including school, agency, previous work for employer and union contacts)	16	13	11	11	13	13
No information	8	—	—	—	—	—
	†	†	†	†	†	†
Base	*1336*	*848*	*564*	*390*	*463*	*139*

* Including some non-construction jobs
† Some men gave more than one answer and so totals may exceed 100%

Table 3.9 Reasons men give for having accepted the jobs* they have had over past five years

	Sequence position of jobs					
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th–7th	8th and more
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Only work available; for example *'to get off the dole'*	30	36	40	39	43	43
Improved pay	22	27	25	26	29	30
For the job itself, interesting work etc	18	14	15	12	11	11
More job security	6	4	7	7	3	5
More freedom to pick and choose	2	—	—	—	—	—
To work outdoors	4	2	2	2	2	—
Just for a change	3	3	2	2	2	2
To start training	5	2	2	2	—	—
Local job, less travelling	4	6	4	6	4	4
Other reasons	5	5	5	6	5	5
No information	2	—	—	—	—	—
Base†	*1336*	*844*	*574*	*401*	*477*	*142*

* Including some non-construction jobs
† The numbers given for bases in Tables 3.8, 3.9 and 3.10 differ because men who were self-employed at various times were not asked these questions about those periods of self-employment

preferences and remain fairly constant as one moves from first job to later jobs. These figures are a little distorted by two factors: 1) non-construction jobs are included in the range and 2) the replies of highly mobile men are included in the stable job range (jobs 1, 2 and 3) but appear alone in the upper range (5–7 and 8 and more). Even so the message seems quite clear; whenever they can men use informal channels to get work. As one moves from the 'first' category to those categories isolating the more mobile men one finds the importance of relatives in the trade declining and the importance of more formal methods rising, especially the use of job centres. Nevertheless, the informal methods of personal approaches to firms and following up leads given by friends in the trade and even responding to informal approaches *from* firms, remain by far the most important channels of movement and information that define the pathways of change in their labour market.

Whereas we have shown that the means by which men move from one employer to another are predominantly informal ones, the impression of voluntary behaviour this creates can be misleading. In fact, only 38% of men reported that they *"..... generally have a free choice of the kind of job you can get"* (Q.11, Page 10) while more than half (56%) agreed quite simply that they *"..... usually have to take whatever job is going"*. Those claiming to exercise a free choice among employers tended, of course, to be the best qualified tradesmen whose skills are often in short supply.

This lack of choice men perceive when choosing—or rather, when *getting* new employment is borne out in answers to the more objective side of questioning on this topic. Men were asked what was their main reason for accepting each job they had had over the five year period. As was done with the data on methods of seeking work, these replies are analysed in Table 3.9 (subject to the same qualifications as before) by each job held. Here we see that the reason men give most frequently for accepting a new job is that it was the only job offered to them.

Otherwise, just over a quarter of moves are actually made in response to the promise of better pay, so it would be wrong to give the impression that some personal, voluntary motives, especially cash incentives, are entirely neglected; they have a role in causing men to move but only in a minority of cases. About 15% overall moved to find more satisfying or interesting work, and some others for a variety of reasons, only a few having to do with location.

Leaving jobs, mostly in construction

In one sense we have already told half the story of how men came to leave their jobs. Mostly, they leave to take up other jobs either because they have been dismissed and need to find work or they see the chance to better themselves financially and perhaps find more satisfying work. This, broadly speaking, is what we find but the details reveal that movement between employers is not as smooth and simple as such a summary might make it first appear.

Keeping to the same format used earlier, Table 3.10 analyses five pieces of information describing how men come to leave their employers and does so separately for each job left during the past five years. First we look at the reasons men give as the main reason for leaving an employer. It seems that whichever move is being discussed, there is great consistency in the distribution of answers in each of the categories analysed. About one fifth of these moves are made for personal convenience, less travelling and for domestic reasons. About another quarter are made for more positive reasons to do with escape from 'boring' work into a job offering more variety, interest, the satisfaction of using skills more fully and acquiring new skills, or, in rather more than half such positive cases, the attraction of more money.

However, the most striking feature of Table 3.10 (a) is that nearly four out of ten job moves were attributed flatly to redundancy and a further 7–8% to an imminent threat of redundancy (for example, *"The site was finishing up so I got another job"*) or being sacked for some other reason. In addition, a similar 7–9% of moves occurred because the men quarrelled with their employer or his foreman and left. We believe many of these answers are face-saving descriptions of a dismissal. So, even from the spontaneous accounts men give of their reasons for leaving employers, *it seems that up to half of all job moves are made involuntarily.*

A more direct measure of the extent of volition in moving jobs was obtained by asking men to estimate how long they felt they could have stayed on if they had wanted to. The results given in Table 3.10 (b) indicate clearly that the balance between voluntary and involuntary movement is in fact very even, averaging

Table 3.10 How men leave their jobs

	Sequence position of job					
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th–7th	8th and more
	%	%	%	%	%	%
a Reason for leaving						
Made redundant	32	37	37	39	39	41
To avoid redundancy	4	4	4	4	1	1
Dismissed	3	4	4	4	6	2
Quarrelled with employer	7	7	5	8	9	13
To seek better pay	18	18	19	15	18	10
To seek more job satisfaction, job was 'too tedious', etc.	15	10	12	11	9	12
Other reasons (eg travelling difficulties, health problems, domestic reasons, retirement, industrial disruption)	21	21	19	19	18	21
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*878*	*607*	*426*	*273*	*320*	*98*
b Extent of volition						
'Could you have stayed on.....'						
Not at all	31	38	40	40	44	46
Up to one month more	2	3	2	4	3	1
1–3 months more	4	3	3	4	4	6
More than 3 months	54	51	50	46	45	41
Don't know	9	5	5	6	4	6
	100	100	100	100	100	100
c Redundancy payments						
Yes	16	5	1	2	2	0
No	83	94	99	98	98	100
Don't know	1	1	0	0	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	%	%	%	%	%	%
d Other special payments on leaving						
Yes	9	5	7	4	8	1
No	90	94	93	96	92	99
Don't know	1	1	0	0	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	%					
e Type of payments						
Holiday money	22				38	
Pension fund	28				4	
Severance pay	16				28	
'Week in hand'	5				11	
Informal gratuity	22				9	
Other payments	7				10	
	100				100	
Base	*83*				*77*	

50%–50% overall while being tipped in the favour of volition when it is the first job that is left and in favour of compulsion when later jobs are left. This result provides another hint that more mobile men exercise less choice in their mobility than less mobile men. Overall, the previous conclusion is confirmed: among the current workforce in construction, half the job moves made during the past five years were caused by the employee having been given notice of termination of his employment by his employer, in one way or another.

Despite this conclusion, Table 3.10 (c) goes on to show that relatively few men report having received redundancy payments—only about half of those claiming to have been made redundant from first job received redundancy payments, one seventh of those from second job and only a tiny fraction of moves thereafter. It is impossible to tell from this simple analysis whether this discrepancy arises from a lack of entitlement or from other causes and a more penetrating analysis is provided later. Rather more men moving from later jobs recall having received some kind of special payment on leaving (see Table 3.10 (d)) than received redundancy pay but about half of these turn out to be the return of holiday money, pension fund contributions or money held over 'inhand'. Of the remaining payments, which actually added to total income in the form of some severance pay, at least half were highly informal 'grace and favour' payouts, completion bonuses, and similar gratuities (see Table 3.10 (e)).

Having constructed this past picture of their past job mobility it seemed worth asking men about their future intentions and expectations to see whether there was any close correspondence between what men had experienced in the past and their view of what they feel might happen to them now. Given the evidence considered earlier, it was as well that in the questionnaire we distinguished between men's intentions and expectations since we know now that mens preferences in job mobility do not correspond closely with the forces they see causing their actual mobility.

The results concerning intentions are fairly straightforward. Twenty two per cent of the currently-employed workforce actually intend to leave their present employer of their own volition (Q.23, Page 36). Few of these intentions, however, had yet taken on very solid form in that only 15% of those intending to move (4% of the total of employed men) had firm plans to move to another employer during the next month and only half of these few actually had another job to go to. It may appear that many of these men are not so much stating their planned intentions but are anticipating the need to move in the near future. But the data on expectations does not support this. Eighty six per cent of employed men say they are confident that their present job will continue to provide them employment for more than two years and only 9% believe their job will last less than this time; in fact, only 2% believe themselves in work for less than one year hence. A further 2% were not prepared to guess about their prospects and 3% anticipated their retirement. It is interesting to note that the two groups apparently most prone to non-voluntary mobility were substantially less sanguine about the security of their present employment: only about half the scaffolders and labourers who were actually in work at the time of the interview thought their job would continue for more than two years.

This degree of confidence contrasts oddly with the rate of redundancy experienced by men in the past, described above. In fact, we calculated a summary measure of the number of times in five years each individual construction worker had left a job that he said he *"could not have stayed in at all"* (that is, a measure of non-voluntary movement excluding the greyer areas of 'redundancy' like avoiding the end of a job or quarrelling with the boss). This is the distribution we obtained:

Worker left a job he *'could not have stayed on at all.....'*

On no occasion	Once	Twice	3 times	4 or more times	*Base (=100%)*
65%	18%	9%	4%	4%	*1414*

Many workers (about 40% in fact, as we shall see in the next section) have not moved at all, voluntarily or through redundancy. But 18% overall (about 30% of movers) have had this experience of being moved on once, 9% twice, 8% more than twice, and one man seems to have been fired ten times in five years. Against this weight of experience it is difficult to see how the view among the vast majority (86%) of employed men that their jobs are secure for at least two years is supported, in many cases, by anything but a cheerful optimism in the face of past disappointments.

4 Job mobility and its hazards: work outside construction, redundancy and unemployment

The job history section of the questionnaire represented an interviewing task of unusual intensity. Men who reported any discontinuity in their employment during the past five years were asked first to assist the interviewer to sketch out a calender outlining every employment move they had made. These details were then rechecked for accuracy and then further details were obtained about every job and every gap in employment occurring during the five year period. Interviewers were frequently surprised by the effort men gave to getting their details right. Men often corrected information given earlier as the pattern of their work history became clearer in their minds under further questioning.

Survey data of this kind can be problematic since every respondent has a unique history, working for different lengths of time for different kinds of enterprise and there are numerous ways in which such data may be reduced to summary measures for use in analysis. Basically, there are two paths one may take: first one may *count* the numbers of particular kinds of event occurring to men over the five year period. This we can call the 'event data'. Second, one may take a more complicated but ultimately more informative approach by summarising the amount of time men spend in different kinds of condition (employed, unemployed, in or out of the industry, working as skilled or unskilled men, as employed or self-employed men, and so on). This we can call the 'time data'.

This report contains both kinds of data though it concentrates most analyses on event data. Time data is introduced at various points where it is particularly appropriate to the narrative, especially with respect to unemployment and length-of-job information.

The most important item of event data is the total number of employers each respondent has served during the five year period. The basic distribution of this measure of job mobility is shown in Table 4.1 separately for the current workforce, current employees, former construction workers, self-employed men, and for men currently unemployed and looking for work.

Among the current workforce, about four out of ten men have remained continuously in the service of one employer for five years and 19% have changed jobs just once. The remainder are spread across the range of mobility, up to four men who share the 'record' of fourteen jobs.

The employment record of self-employed men is included in Table 4.1 for comparison with employees. Sixty five per cent of them have worked on their own account throughout the five year period and, for the remainder, the distribution of their employment history is more a measure of how recently they switched to working as self-employed men than it is of how mobile they have been. Proportionately, one can say they have certainly been quite as mobile as those who continue to work as employees. It is interesting to note too that the former construction workers appear in Table 4.1 not as erstwhile stable men who happen now to have left the industry but as men with a history of job mobility (62% have had three or more jobs compared with 39% overall). In this they are similar to the currently unemployed men who also show a considerable history of past mobility.

One aspect of these data should be borne in mind throughout: except where otherwise indicated later in this text, these figures for overall job-mobility contain jobs worked *outside* the construction industry. To an unanticipated extent many men now working in the construction industry reported having also worked for employers in other industries during the five-year period we enquired about. In fact about one third of all jobs reported were these non-construction jobs and so, to this extent, the data is affected by other industries. This point is stressed in order to emphasise that this is not a five-year study of mobility within the construction industry. It is a study of the experiences over the last

Table 4.1 Basic distribution of job mobility

		Number of separate employments during past five years								
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight to Fourteen	*Base (=100%)*
All respondents*	%	44	18	13	10	6	4	2	4	*1969*
Current workforce*	%	41	19	13	11	7	5	2	4	*1414*
Current employees	%	45	19	12	10	6	4	1	3	*1242*
Currently employed	%	14	22	17	15	13	9	5	5	*172*
Self-employed men	%	65	13	10	7	2	2	1	2	*352*
Former construction men	%	9	29	22	16	11	4	5	4	*128*

* Including unemployed and excluding the self-employed and former construction workers

five years of the men who *now* work in the construction industry and which, naturally, includes other experience.

This apparent difficulty in obtaining continuous employment in the construction industry provides the starting point below for an examination of what are called the 'hazards of mobility'. For the moment, one other qualification is necessary to interpret this overall rate-of-mobility measure as accurately as possible and it is concerned with the accuracy of men's recall of past events.

Memory and reported job mobility

The accuracy of the figures just given depends on the informants' ability to recall all the jobs they had over the five year period. Since lapses in memory are more likely to affect events the further they have receded into the past, a suitable way of testing for memory problems is to see whether the number of jobs which informants report having started is much the same for each of the five years or whether the number diminishes as we go back in time.

Table 4.2 Number of job-starts reported for the years 1974 to 1978 by men who at the time of interview were manual construction employees or unemployed manual construction workers

	Number of jobs reported starting in:				
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
All jobs reported	432	483	499	542	660
Jobs reported by men aged 21+ at time of interview	401	423	424	454	537

The first line of Table 4.2 (which refers to jobs reported by the 1414 current employees and unemployed workers on whom this report has concentrated most) shows that the number of jobs starts remembered for 1974 was only about two thirds of the number remembered for the year before interview. As it stands, this greatly overstates the extent of possible memory lapses for the earlier part of the period, since some of the jobs reported for later years were held by youngsters who were still at school when the five years began. A fairer comparison is provided by the second line of the table which leaves out the youngest age-group. When this is done the total of job starts remembered for the first year rises to 75% of the 537 reported for 1978. The decline in the number of job-starts reported is very steep between 1978 and 1977 but becomes more gradual for the earlier years.

The difference between earlier years and 1978 may well be due in large measure to lapses of memory. However it should not be taken too literally as a direct measure of the extent of recall-loss. It is possible that some job-starts were forgotten for 1978 itself. It is also conceivable that there was some substantial variation between years in the number of job starts actually occurring. Some variation in mobility will also have resulted from the changing circumstances of the members of our sample. On the one hand, as we go back in time they would have been younger and therefore more prone to change employers. On the other hand the further back we go the higher the proportion who had other occupations, possibly in less mobile industries. At the start of 1974, 13% of the group in the first line had jobs which were outside the construction industry altogether.

One technical feature of the survey's sampling may have slightly inflated the figure for 1978. This is that a separate sample of informants who had left the industry during 1978 was taken at the sift stage in January 1979. By the time of the main interview, some weeks later, a few of these individuals may have rejoined the industry and thus been included in the table. Since all such informants changed jobs in 1978 their presence may have inflated the figure for that year slightly.

An accurate estimate of the extent of under-reporting of jobs due to faulty recall would require initial estimates to be made of the importance of all the various effects just mentioned. Since we have not attempted to do this all that is possible is a rather subjective estimate of the number of forgotten jobs. Overall it seems probable that, over the whole five year period, more than 10% of all their job-starts were forgotten by the adult men in the main group of current and unemployed construction workers.

An experimental pilot study for this survey interviewed and then reinterviewed some fifty men using the job-history part of the questionnaire. The results of this study suggest that it is possible to speculate that many of these apparent lapses of memory are associated with quite short-lived jobs almost certainly lasting less than one year. Thus, their inclusion would probably increase the number of jobs reported by men who have moved more than once or twice but would probably not affect the overall 40% stability rate.

The hazards of mobility

Of itself, this simple rate-of-mobility measure tells us little about the way the industry trades its labour resources. Although the overall rate may appear high to some observers (though this is not the place to enter into inter-industry comparisons) there would be few problems associated with mobility if men moved smoothly from one construction employer to another, did so more or less of their own volition or, at least, by mutual consent, and rarely had cause to fall back on a spell on unemployment benefit in order to find new work. It is the extent of these hazards and their relationship with the overall rate of mobility that gives us our first insights into how the labour market in the construction industry actually works. Three aspects of these hazards will be examined:

> The 'width' of the labour market as it is reflected in the extent the present workforce has been employed in other industries during the past five years.
>
> The extent of volition in men's moving from one employer to another.

The extent of unemployment men experience in moving between employers.

Work outside the construction industry

Table 4.3 shows the distribution of men who have worked outside the construction industry, divided by men having different levels of overall mobility. It seems from these data that the first hazard of work in the construction industry appears to be the difficulty many men have actually to remain in the construction industry, let alone remain with one construction employer, over a period of five years. Overall, 73% of men have remained employed (or unemployed) within the construction industry but the majority (56%) of these have done so by dint of staying in the same job. Of those who have had a change of employer in the past five years, 45% have spent some time working outside the construction industry. There is a random quality about the distribution of this tendency to move outside the industry. This means, of course, that the more job-mobile men more often move outside construction, to the extent that about one half of men who have changed jobs five or more times have spent at least one and often rather more periods of time working outside construction. Yet we see also that among the relatively stable group of men who have had only one change of employer in five years no less than one third of them came to their present construction employer from another employer in another industry. Given the fact that total employment in construction has been at least stable and probably contracting over the past five years, these men must have been recruited to replace a similar or even greater number of men leaving the construction industry for other work.

So the first conclusion we can offer is straightforward: when we speak of the 'labour market in the construction industry' it seems that we speak of an area of recruitment among a body of workers at least one third greater in size than the present aggregate employed.

Table 4.3 Number of times men have worked outside the construction industry, by mobility

Number of times worked outside construction	Number of jobs 1	2	3	4	5–6	7–14	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
On *no* occasion	100	65	56	47	50	45	73
Once		35	26	24	16	18	15
Twice			18	20	14	14	7
Three or more times				9	20	23	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*586*	*271*	*180*	*150*	*156*	*71*	*1414*

This conclusion also has implications for the interpretation of all our data. Taking this sampled slice through the present workforce means that the experiences we have recorded for them over the past five years often occurred outside the industry as well as inside it. It would be very difficult to control for this phenomenon and still present data that would make very much sense. It is a difficulty built into the design which chose to study the past experiences of present workers rather than, say, follow the careers of existing workers through some future time sequence with repeated interviews.

Voluntary and involuntary mobility

We saw in Table 3.10 that considerable numbers of men in the construction industry experience 'involuntary mobility'. In fact about half of all moves appeared to be involuntary and the majority of these resulted from redundancy. A summary measure calculated on the number of times men recalled having left a job where they could not have stayed on at all indicated that 35% of men overall and 58% of men who had moved jobs had had such an experience. For this analysis of involuntary mobility we adopted what was expected to be a more conservative measure of involuntary mobility by counting only those events when a man had left a job giving as his reason a clear statement that he was made redundant or dismissed. As the following summary of voluntary and involuntary mobility indicates, (Table 4.4) this measure produced a higher estimate of involuntary mobility because some men leave jobs having been declared redundant but still could have worked on a few more weeks or even months before their time was exhausted. Overall, voluntary mobility is still a more common experience than involuntary mobility but not by very much. Many men have had both experiences, 51% of the current workforce (86% of movers) have moved voluntarily and 38% (65% of movers) have been made redundant or dismissed at least once over the past five years. Even with this overlap, we find that 18% of men overall (30% of movers) have been made redundant more often than they have moved voluntarily and only 33% have had what might be expected to be the most common experience of moving voluntarily more often than they were made redundant or dismissed and about one third of these had experienced some invol-

Table 4.4 A comparison of voluntary and involuntary mobility

		Left a job Never	Once	Twice	Three times	Four or more times	*Base (=100%)*
Voluntarily	%	49	23	13	8	6	*1414*
Involuntarily	%	62	20	9	5	4	*1414*

Summary	
No mobility	40%
Mobility more voluntary than involuntary	33%
Mobility equally voluntary and involuntary	9%
Mobility more involuntary than voluntary	18%
	100%

untary mobility. Overall, only 38% of men who have moved jobs in five years have managed to avoid redundancy or dismissal.

Does the hazard of involuntary mobility fall more heavily on the most mobile men, leaving the majority group of less mobile men moving once or twice in five years mostly of their own choosing and in their own time? Or is redundancy, like the chance of leaving the industry, spread across the range of mobility in a more or less chance fashion? The answer, provided by Table 4.5, is that, yes, the *most* mobile men (those having seven or more jobs in five years) do seem to suffer rather more redundancy than even their 'at risk' status would predict. Broadly speaking, about half of them have been dismissed from at least half the jobs they have had. Yet, on the other hand, we find that redundancy and dismissal is still highly prevalant among even those who have moved very little. Even if a man has moved only once in five years, his chances of having avoided redundancy are less than two-to-one in his favour. If he moved twice, his chances are 6–4 against.

Table 4.5 Number of times men were made redundant or sacked in five years, by mobility

Number of times made redundant or sacked	Number of jobs in five years						
	1	2	3	4	5–6	7–14	All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
On no occasion	97	64	39	27	14	4	62
Once	3	31	40	43	21	14	20
Twice		5	18	15	25	20	9
Three times			2	11	21	20	5
Four or more times				4	18	44	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*586*	*271*	*180*	*150*	*156*	*71*	*1414*

Duration of employment and entitlement to redundancy pay

Part of the original remit for this survey was to provide information which would help the Construction Industry Manpower Board to assess the working of the official redundancy payments scheme as it affects employees in the construction industry. Entitlement to an official redundancy payment is related to length of employment, being nil for employments of less than two years and rising progressively with the length of employment after the first two years.

Table 4.6, therefore, is a 'life-table' of manual employee jobs in the construction industry, showing how long they last and the reasons they finish. Periods of self-employment and jobs outside the industry have been excluded from the table. It is based on the replies of men who were manual construction employees, or unemployed manual construction workers, at the time of interview and refers only to jobs as manual employees of construction firms, begun within the first four years of the five-year period. The rows of the table show the percentage of all jobs started in each year which ended for various reasons after less than six months, after six months but less than twelve, and so on. The final figure in each row of four gives the percentage of jobs still continuing at the end of each six-month period. Thus looking at the figures for 1974, it can be seen that 8% of all jobs which informants remembered starting in that year ended in redundancy within the first six months. In the same period 1% ended in the sack and a further 14% for other reasons, so that 78% of these jobs were still continuing after six months (because of rounding the figures do not add to exactly 100%). Moving on to the next row, it can be seen that during the next six months a further 7% ended in redundancy, less than half a per cent in the sack, and 10% for other reasons—so that by the end of the first year the proportion of jobs which were still continuing had fallen to 60%.

The final row of figures for 1974 refers to jobs started in 1974 which finished after three and a half but less than four years. Although some of the jobs which started in 1974 lasted four years or longer but had nonetheless finished before the date of interview, no rows have been provided for jobs lasting four but less than four and a half, or four and a half but less than five years. This is because jobs starting towards the end of 1974 and still continuing at the time of interview need not have lasted as long as four and a half years, and therefore the information needed to complete the row concerned is lacking. For the same reason, figures for 1975 jobs stop after 36 months, 1976 jobs after 24 months, 1977 jobs after 12 months, and no figures are given for jobs starting in 1978.

The number of job-starts reported in the table declines as we go back in time. Some of the reasons for the decline in the number of all job-starts (not just those as construction employees) were discussed earlier in the paragraphs on memory and reported job mobility. In the case of Table 4.6 the most important factor is probably that many of the men reporting job starts in 1977 were not working for employers in the industry at all at the start of the five years—either working elsewhere or still at school. However faulty memory probably plays some part as well, in which case one would expect recall of shorter jobs to be particularly affected.

The proportion of very short jobs in Table 4.6 may initially cause some surprise. Only 60% of jobs reported as starting in 1974 were still continuing at the end of the first twelve months, while for 1977 jobs the figure is 46%. The latter figure may well be more representative as it is likely to be less affected by recall loss. One may wonder how this can be reconciled with the figures in Table 4.1 showing that 45% of current manual employees had only one job in the whole five year period. However the discrepancy is only apparent, not real. Although half the jobs last a year or less, these short-term jobs do not employ half the men. Since by definition a short job only provides work for a limited period of time, the 50% or so of jobs lasting a year or less provide a far smaller proportion of total employment—and therefore account for far fewer of the workers currently employed—than their numbers might at first sight lead one to expect.

Table 4.6 Length of manual construction employee jobs* by year started and how ended

	Jobs begun in 1974				Jobs begun in 1975				Jobs begun in 1976				Jobs begun in 1977			
	% ending in:			% continuing at end of interval	% ending in:			% continuing at end of interval	% ending in:			% continuing at end of interval	% ending in:			% continuing at end of interval
	Redundancy	Sack	Other		Redundancy	Sack	Other		Redundancy	Sack	Other		Redundancy	Sack	Other	
After less than 6 months	8	1	14	78	8	2	16	73	9	0	15	76	12	2	20	66
6 but less than 12 months	7	0	10	60	9	1	11	53	15	1	9	51	10	1	10	46
12 but less than 18 months	6	0	7	47	6	0	6	44	4	0	5	42				
18 but less than 24 months	3	0	1	43	4	0	4	32	3	0	3	36				
24 but less than 30 months	4	0	5	34	3	0	2	27								
30 but less than 36 months	2	0	1	32	2	0	2	24								
36 but less than 42 months	2	0	2	28												
42 but less than 48 months	1	0	1	26												
Base (Total number of manual construction employee job-starts reported for the year)		*316*				*348*				*383*				*430*		

* Manual construction employee jobs reported by men who at the time of interview were manual construction employees or unemployed manual construction workers.

Table 4.7 Whether redundancy payments were remembered for jobs* which ended in redundancy after two years or more by length of job and by year of redundancy

	Jobs ending in redundancy which lasted:			
	2 years or more	2 years but less than 3	3 years but less than 4	4 years or more
	%	%	%	%
Payment remembered	66	53	62	84
No payment remembered	34	47	38	16
Base	100 *199*	100 *87*	100 *39*	100 *73*

	Jobs ending in redundancy after two years or more in:					
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Payment remembered	50	55	62	77	76	75
No payment remembered	50	45	38	23	24	25
Base†	100 *26*	100 *38*	100 *45*	100 *48*	100 *33*	100 *8*

* Manual construction employee jobs reported by men who at the time of interview were manual construction workers or unemployed manual construction workers.

† Totals for separate years add to one less than overall total since in one case the year in which the job ended is not recorded.

Compared with other reasons for job termination, redundancy appears to account for a smaller proportion of terminations for jobs which last a year or less than for jobs that last longer than a year. In 1974 redundancies within the first year account for 15% of all jobs, compared with 24% of jobs which ended for other reasons within the same period. Comparable figures for 1975 are 17% and 27%; for 1976, 24% and 24%; and for 1977, 22% and 30%. In contrast to this, jobs lasting more than a year were almost equally likely to end in redundancy or to have come to an end for other reasons.

A comparison of this pattern of redundancy with that in other industries is beyond the scope of this report, and it would not be appropriate to comment here on the implications it has for the working of the redundancy scheme. However it is worth stating that the data of this survey provide no reason for doubting that the redundancy scheme is working in the purely technical sense that those legally entitled to payments are receiving them.

It was mentioned earlier (Chapter 3) that a surprisingly low proportion of redundant workers reported receiving any redundancy pay. At first sight Table 4.7 appears to support this impression: redundancy payments were reported for only 66% of the 199 job terminations between January 1974 and the interviews in the spring of 1979 for which they might have been expected. However the main body of the table suggests that what we are dealing with here may be no more than faulty memory. The proportion of eligible terminations for which no redundancy payment was reported falls from 50% for jobs ending in 1974 to about a quarter for those ending in 1977 or later. The same proportion falls from 47% for jobs which had lasted less than 3 years to only 16% for those which had lasted for 4 years or more, and for which the payment would have been larger and more memorable. If allowance is also made for a certain amount of misunderstanding by informants of just what the payments they received on leaving an employment were, there seems no reason to doubt that our informants received the redundancy pay to which their service had entitled them.

Unemployment

Probably the most important and serious hazard of mobility is unemployment. Even involuntary mobility would be less of a problem to men if they were virtually guaranteed new employment immediately after being made redundant. Common experience does not suggest this is very likely and a close examination of unemployment seems necessary. We start by examining the present level of unemployment in its broader context.

In surveys of this kind, the rate of unemployment is often difficult to calculate because some men's status is rather uncertain. For example, ten men have not worked at all in five years and so they were excluded from the 'unemployed and looking for work' category because it seemed to stretch too far their eligibility for inclusion, as all other unemployed men are included in the current workforce category. With the maximum number of exclusions of this kind, the minimum rate of unemployment among the current workforce is 11.7% and the opposite, maximum rate is 12.8%. The best estimate is probably 12.2% and corresponds very closely to the figure calculable from official statistics. Although in calculating the rate one can do no more than look at the ratio of employed to unemployed men, it is fair to say that formerly self-employed men who signed-on are artificially inflating the rate—but not by all that much. (The overall figure of 10% unemployed, quoted earlier in Chapter 2, refers to the ratio of unemployed to all workers, including the self-employed. In our terms, the unemployed are 10% of the currently hireable workforce (Table 2.1) and 12% of the current workforce.)

This rate of unemployment is distributed very evenly among the various craft groups (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8 Unemployment by craft group

Unemployment	Craft	%	*Base (=100%)*
Low	Carpenters	5.0	*159*
	Electricians	5.1	*98*
	Mechanical equipment operators	5.6	*90*
Average	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations	7.9	*127*
	Plumbers	7.9	*114*
	Other construction skills	9.0	*221*
	Plasterers and tilers	9.1	*55*
	Bricklayers	10.5	*124*
High	Painters	15.3	*144*
	Labourers and mates	26.0	*231*
	Scaffolders and steel-fixers	29.4	*51*

There is a tendency for the more traditional craftsmen to be more in demand than others, together with mechanical equipment operators. In contrast, three groups of workers, comprising 30% of the current workforce, seem to be in special difficulties. More than one-in-seven of the painters and decorators, more than a quarter of the labourers and mates, and nearly 30% of the scaffolders and steel-fixers we interviewed said they are unemployed and looking for work. Labourers and mates make up only 16% of the current workforce but comprise 35% of the unemployed. In contrast only 55% of the carpenters interviewed were without work.

The extent to which this burden of unemployment is borne disproportionately by the unskilled men may be seen in the comparison summarised in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 Employment and unemployment by skill

	Employed men	Unemployed men
	%	%
Skilled	66	44
Semi-skilled	21	27
Unskilled	13	29
	100	100
Base	*1219*	*168*

This difference sheds considerable light on the earlier finding that unskilled men have a history of moving in and out of the industry. With a quarter of them out of work at any one time, it is more surprising that as many stay within the industry as do and this must have more to do with the lack of alternative employment for building labourers than it has with any intrinsic attachment to their occupation.

This then is the present situation; what of the past five years? Using the now familiar format, Table 4.10 shows the distribution of the number of *times* men have been unemployed over the past five years. Forty one per cent of the current workforce have experienced unemployment during the five year period. Half of these men have been unemployed once, a quarter of them twice, 10% three times, and a further 10% more than three times. Again we find there is very nearly a random distribution of the chance of being unemployed between different levels of mobility. As one would expect of the most mobile men (7–14 jobs) only 7% have managed to avoid the dole and 45% of them have had three or more spells of unemployment. But among those who have moved only once, no less than 43% have experienced a spell of unemployment, nearly a quarter of them have managed to be unemployed more than once. Even 9% of those who have had only one employer in five years have started or ended the five year period out of work.

Table 4.10 Number of times men were unemployed and looking for work, by mobility

Number of times unemployed	Number of jobs in five years						All
	1	2	3	4	5–6	7–14	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	91	57	39	31	17	7	59
1	9	33	33	31	21	24	21
2	—	9	21	20	18	24	10
3		1*	6	13	19	10	5
4			1	4	18	20	3
More than 4				1	7	15	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*586*	*271*	*180*	*150*	*156*	*71*	*1414*

*It is possible for men to have more periods of unemployment than they have had jobs by being unemployed both at the start and the end of the five year period enquired about and being unemployed at each job change.

Although the overall rate or incidence of unemployment is certainly high by any industrial standards, it would be predictable from the rate of mobility. Construction workers are unlikely to change employers as often as they do and remain strangers to unemployment. Yet still the most important question to ask about unemployment is not the number of spells of unemployment—though that figure is significant enough—but *how long* do men have to spend out of work before they find new employment? At this point we switch again to the use of time-based data, presented here in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11 Length of time spent unemployed in five years by mobility excluding current periods of unemployment

Time unemployed in five years	Number of jobs in five years						All
	1	2	3	4	5–6	7–14	
Upper limit	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	94	63	43	36	20	8	64
1–4 weeks	0	9	11	22	13	18	8
5–12 weeks	1	8	19	14	18	18	8
13–24 weeks	0	7	8	8	13	22	7
25–36 weeks	0	2	7	5	9	13	4
37 weeks +	5	11	11	15	27	22	11
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Lower limit							
None	98	72	50	40	23	9	69
1–4 weeks	0	9	11	21	13	21	8
5–12 weeks	1	8	17	16	21	19	9
13–24 weeks	0	7	7	8	14	22	6
25–36 weeks	0	1	7	5	9	10	3
37 weeks +	1	3	8	11	21	19	6
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*568*	*255*	*162*	*131*	*139*	*63*	*1303*

The estimates of time spent unemployed provided in Table 4.11 are subject to important qualifications. They are both underestimates. Because of computational difficulties, the estimates *exclude* present periods of unemployment. They include only those periods of unemployment *completed* within the five year period, whether completed by the currently unemployed or not.

The difference between the upper and lower limits of the time spent unemployed is this: the upper limit includes all periods of unemployment so designated, even if that period may have included, or more probably started, by a period of unemployment through illness. The lower limit includes only those periods of unemployment due solely to being without a job, excluding all other jointly-occurring reasons.

The two estimates indicate that the average *completed* time spent out of work by those experiencing any unemployment is between 17 and 20 weeks. Adding a crude estimate for present unemployment indicates that this average, overall, is about six months unemployment over five years. This, when one thinks about it, is precisely the consequence of maintaining about 10% of a workforce unemployed at any one time over five years. Ten per cent of five years is six months.

Again, the most striking feature of the division of time unemployed by job mobility is that one does not have to be highly mobile to experience long-term unemployment. Between 13% and 20% of the less mobile men have completed more than six months unemployment in five years.

Length of unemployment completed is clearly associated with involuntary mobility, as seen in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 Total length of completed spells of unemployment by number of times made redundant or dismissed

Upper limit of time spent unemployed	Number of times made redundant or dismissed				
	0	1	2	3	4 or more
	%	%	%	%	%
None	84	36	19	13	0
1–4 weeks	3	19	18	15	5
5–12 weeks	4	15	19	25	12
13–24 weeks	2	10	14	14	30
25–36 weeks	1	5	11	11	9
37 weeks +	6	14	17	22	44
	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*878*	*280*	*124*	*68*	*43*

Comparing Tables 4.11 and 4.12 it is clear that the incidence of unemployment among those suffering redundancy is between two and three times greater than the overall figure and the lengths of time spent out of work by those suffering more than one incidence of dismissal or redundancy are prodigious. Among the whole sample, 29% of those having had four or more jobs have completed more than six months unemployment; among those having experienced four or more redundancies, the figure is 53%.

Taking these data on involuntary mobility and unemployment together, it seems fair to suggest that unless a construction worker can sit tight in a more secure kind of job (and only about four out of ten men can apparently do this) he is going to find it quite difficult to avoid the sack or the dole at some time during five years work in the industry and may well seek work for a time outside the industry. This in turn suggests the following conclusion:

The working of the labour market in the construction industry seems actually to depend to some extent on men moving or being moved from one employer to another without their fullhearted consent and doing so via a spell of unemployment.

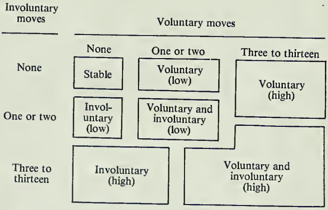
As a footnote to this conclusion we should underline that the movement being measured here clearly involves termination of employment by the employer and real unemployment and not just being stood down or laid off through adverse working conditions on site. The incidence of lay-offs is measured separately but only for men's experiences over the past year. The results from this separate measure indicate that only about 8–9% of the current workforce has been stood down for a period of a week or longer during the year Spring 1978 to Spring 1979. The great majority of these men reported the bad weather of the 1978/79 winter to be responsible for their layoff and that they had remained confident of resuming work with the same employer when conditions improved, and had done so.

Mobility and its hazards—a discontinuity

This final part of this analysis of job mobility and its hazards provides a simultaneous analysis of mobility and the extent of volition in mobility on the one hand, and the two main consequential hazards of mobility on the other, that is, movement outside the construction industry and the incidence and length of spells of unemployment.

First we need to construct a typology that classified men according to how often they moved from one employer to another *and* whether they moved voluntarily or involuntarily. The method used is most easily explained by the use of a simple diagram (Figure 2).

Figure 2



Men remaining with the same employer for five years are naturally classified as stable. Those moving once or twice entirely of their own volition are classified as low-voluntary movers and those similarly moving three or more times as high-voluntary movers except that they are 'allowed' one involuntary move; they are mobile men whose experience has been predominantly voluntary. Low involuntary and high involuntary movers are classified by the same method but with, obviously, the opposite criteria. This leaves two categories of movers: low and high mixed movers who are those who have experienced a mixture of voluntary and involuntary changes of employer.

Up to now this chapter has treated the three main hazards of mobility as though they were closely correlated and to a certain extent they are. Table 4.12 for example, showed us how the length of time spent unemployed was closely associated with the amount of redundancy experienced. However, Table 4.13 shows us a very surprising result indeed and one that provides an important insight into how these three phenomena—redundancy, movement outside construction, and unemployment—coincide in an unexpected way to determine the flow of labour within the construction industry. Quite simply, Table 4.13 describes the incidence of jobs done outside the construction industry over the five year period and the incidence and the length of spells of unemployment experienced by each of the seven categories of worker determined by the typology described in Figure 2.

It would be a reasonable hypothesis to predict that men experiencing a work-history wholly or predominantly characterised by involuntary mobility will record far more unemployment than those who moved voluntarily. This is so. Sixty-nine per cent of the low voluntary group have avoided unemployment entirely and only 6% have experienced it twice or more, compared with only 26% among the low-involuntary group having avoided unemployment and 15% who have experienced it twice. Likewise, 31% of the high voluntary group have moved swiftly from employer to employer without being unemployed and 40% have been unemployed twice or more compared with the corresponding figures of a mere 6% of the high involuntary group avoiding unemployment and 80% who have been unemployed twice or more. The figures for the mixed experience group fall between these extremes among the high movers. Those described as low mixed experience movers *appear* more prone to hazards than either the low wholly voluntary or low wholly involuntary groups but only because they have, on average, moved more often.

Much of the same story is evident from the length of time spent unemployed except to say that the group that draws most interest is the high voluntary group who appear to experience somewhat more and longer spells of unemployment than one would naturally predict for them, even allowing for the fact that half of them have experienced one redundancy among their three or more voluntary moves. This provokes the thought that some

Table 4.13 Type of job mobility by hazards of mobility

	Stable Workers	Men moving					
		Voluntary		Involuntary		Voluntary and involuntary	
		Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Number of times worked outside construction in five years	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Never	96	57	37	81	69	48	45
Once	4†	33	20	17	18	28	16
Twice	0	9	19	1	3	19	16
Three or more	0	1	24	1	10	5	23
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of times unemployed and looking for work							
Never*	95	69	31	26	6	28	10
Once	5	25	29	59	14	35	21
Twice	0	5	19	15	20	26	21
Three or more	0	1	21	0	60	11	48
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*550*	*254*	*133*	*117*	*71*	*187*	*102*
Length of time spent unemployed							
None*	95	73	33	28	8	32	12
Up to six months	0	13	36	41	35	37	30
Six to nine months	0	3	6	14	22	10	18
Nine months or more	5	11	24	17	35	22	40
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*550*	*239*	*124*	*98*	*49*	*156*	*85*

†These are men who were unemployed at the start of the five year period having worked outside construction in their last job.

* The figures given in these rows do not correspond because the calculation for time spent unemployed was not possible for 13% of those who experienced unemployment, their information being incomplete.

of the moves we are classifying as voluntary may well be voluntary redundancies which are followed by a spell of unemployment. But overall the story remains clear; unemployment tends to follow the sack.

With this and all the foregoing information in mind it would seem an even more reasonable hypothesis to suggest that the experience of having to seek work outside the construction industry would most likely befall those classified as low or high involuntary movers. After all, beggars cannot be choosers. While those construction workers who move voluntarily are almost bound to stay in their chosen industry, surely those who are given the sack are going to take whatever job is offered to them, construction industry or not?

As described by our data, the truth appears to be exactly the opposite of this hypothesis. Only 2% of the low involuntary group and 13% of the high involuntary group have worked outside the construction industry more than once in five years compared with 10% of the low voluntary group and a remarkable 43% of the high voluntary group. The more mobile voluntary movers are more than three times as likely to have sought and got work in other industries as have those moving at the same rate but who were actually compelled several times to seek a new employer. Again the mixed experience groups fell between these extremes, bearing in mind the same qualification mentioned above for the low mixed movers.

We attach considerable importance to this finding and so the essentials of the data are presented in a simplified form in Table 4.14 which shows the incidence of work outside construction and of unemployment for just the voluntary and involuntary movers (41% of the current workforce) omitting the stable workers and those with a mixed working experience.

Here the contrast between men with voluntary and involuntary work histories is shown very clearly. This contrast is so complete that a greater proportion of those men having made only one or two voluntary moves have worked outside the construction industry than have those having made three or more involuntary moves (43% as opposed to 31%). Only 19% of men sacked once or twice have worked outside construction, 63% of men moving three or more times mostly voluntarily have plied their trades in other industries, two thirds of these more than once. With respect to unemployment the contrast is equally clear but in the opposite direction. The burden of unemployment falls most heavily on those who were sacked. It is still a little puzzling how 31% of those making one or two voluntary moves come to be unemployed but this may be explained in part by voluntary redundancy and in part by men who started the five year period unemployed but who then got a job and subsequently changed to another employer voluntarily.

So we have data that appear to tell us that men who are sacked, even men who are sacked often, stay in the construction industry though apparently at the cost of considerable amounts of time spent unemployed. Those who move voluntarily, on the other hand, tend to avoid unemployment (though not entirely, by any means) but to do so apparently at the cost of working in other industries. Are we right then to have spoken of work outside the construction industry as a hazard of job mobility? From these data it can be argued quite persuasively that work in other industries is a rational strategy adopted by more fortunate or perhaps more resourceful men in order to avoid unemployment within the construction industry. When a job nears its end and men see the prospect of redundancy and the dole approaching, those with a history of voluntary moving seem prone to get out into other work in other industries until prospects in construction improve for them. Those who hang on and accept redundancy seem also to accept the prospect of signing-on until new construction work becomes available.

Table 4.14 Type of mobility and hazards of mobility (simplified comparison)

	Low mobility		High mobility	
	Wholly voluntary	Wholly involuntary	Wholly voluntary	Wholly involuntary
Worked outside construction				
Never	57	81	37	69
Once	33	17	20	18
More than once	10	2	43	13
	100	100	100	100
Unemployed				
Never	69	26	31	6
Once	25	59	29	14
More than once	6	15	40	80
	100	100	100	100
Base	*254*	*117*	*133*	*71*

That is one explanation; there is another. We must remember again that the men in our sample are representative only of the men working in the industry at one point in time. The voluntary movers told us they had a history of exercising their free choice beyond the construction industry. As we shall see below, many of them went out and come back. It seems possible to argue in contradiction to the 'rational strategy' explanation that many men who are sacked also get work outside the construction industry and perhaps chastened by their experience, they do not come back. We cannot know for certain because they were not, by definition, members of our sample, but it does seem quite probable. Those men in our sample who told us that, paradoxically, they had often been sacked and had often spent time unemployed as a result but who were still somehow 'loyal' to the construction industry might be men who could not get work elsewhere though they may well have tried.

We will make a further attempt to choose between these explanations when in the next section we have learned more about what kinds of men report different kinds of work history in the construction industry. For the moment we can look at Table 4.15 which again concentrates on the comparison between the low and high voluntary movers and the low and high involuntary movers. Here we see first that, irrespective of their rate of mobility, men with a history of redundancy are more likely to have started their five year job history in the construction industry (85%) than are men who moved voluntarily (61%). Among those who started their five year job histories outside construction (line (b) of Table 4.15) 25% of the low voluntary movers, and almost all of the high voluntary movers went on to record other jobs outside construction. These figures probably reflect little more than the recency of their recruitment into construction from other industries.

Of far greater interest is the contrast between the high voluntary and high involuntary movers among those who started their five year job histories *inside* construction (line (a) of Table 4.15). Of these high voluntary construction starters, 41% (comprising 27% of the total of high voluntary movers) have subsequently worked outside construction compared with only 18% of the high involuntary construction starters (who are 15% of the total of high involuntary movers).

Whatever may be the causal mechanism controlling this odd phenomenon, and it would be pushing survey data well beyond its limits of prediction to do anything but speculate about what these may be, it does seem fair to conclude that the past experience of redundancy and unemployment forms a kind of badge of loyalty to the industry among current construction workers.

Whilst this phenomenon is interesting in itself and makes an intriguing contribution to our growing understanding of how the labour market in the construction industry actually works, this finding also suggests a very simple alteration to a figure we earlier presented as having an important impact on our understanding of the nature of mobility in construction. We said that the rate of involuntary mobility, depending on how precisely it is defined, was at least 40% and probably nearer 50% of all moves made. Table 4.16 presents an analysis of the reasons given for leaving jobs in the same way as was done in Table 3.10 but does so separately for all the construction jobs that were left in the five year period and for all the non-construction jobs.

As would be expected from the foregoing analysis in this chapter, far fewer jobs held outside the construction industry ended in redundancy than did jobs which ended inside construction (18% as opposed to 42%). This means that the 'contamination' of our data from non-construction employments has actually a benign effect on the estimation of the extent of mobility hazards within construction. Looking solely at construction jobs, a majority of jobs were left involuntarily.

Table 4.15 Kind of mobility by work outside construction

	Voluntary movers		Involuntary movers	
	Low	High	Low	High
	%	%	%	%
(a) Working in construction at start of five-year period	61	63	82	85
(b) Working outside construction	39	37	18	15
	100	100	100	100
Base	*239*	*124*	*98*	*49*
% of (a) who went on to work outside construction	0%	41%	2%	18%
% of (b) who went on to work outside construction *again*	25%	88%	..	..

Table 4.16 Reasons for leaving jobs in construction and in other industries

Reasons for leaving	Construction jobs	Non-construction jobs
	%	%
Made redundant	42	18
Sacked	3	5
Quarrelled with the boss	8	6
To avoid imminent redundancy	5	2
For better money	21	17
Bored	6	19
Other reasons	15	33
	100	100
Base (Number of jobs)	*1461*	*453*
Summary		
Mainly involuntary moves	58	31
Mainly voluntary moves	42	69
	100	100

Note: This table excludes jobs left by under 21s, part-time workers and self-employed men.

5 Personal and occupational characteristics most associated with mobility

Age

No complex theoretical reasoning need preface the suggestion that younger men are more likely to move from job to job than those who are older, married, have children, and have settled down. Table 5.1 shows that this suggestion is broadly true, particularly if one allows for the artificially low mobility of the youngest age-group many of whom are apprenticed to an employer and who have not yet worked long enough to realise much mobility in their short job histories. (Even so, one unfortunate youth appears to have served, briefly, a total of thirteen employers.) Figure 3, derived from Table 5.1, shows that the proportion of very mobile men (four jobs or more) remains very high in the key twenty to thirty-five age-group (40% to 50%), falls to a lower plateau (about 30%) in the thirty-six to fifty age groups and falls away to below 10% thereafter. This powerful age-effect seems to override considerations of marriage and settling down with a family. Since those around the key mobility age (thirty, plus or minus five years) tend also to be those with wives and young children they are actually *more* mobile than the young singles, many of whom are still in the pre-mobile apprenticeship age-group around twenty, despite their appearance of settling down. Strangely though, the one group that might be expected to be most footloose and free, single men in the 30–45 age-group are more stable than their married peers. Or, rather, as individuals they are either more stable *or* more mobile and this probably reflects their greater ability to choose.

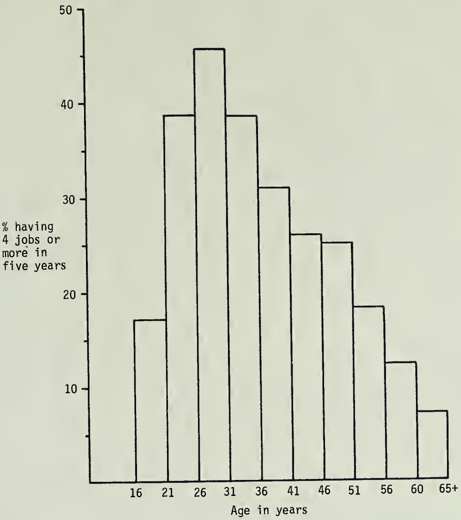
We noted earlier that the construction industry appears to shed ageing members of its workforce, partly through health reasons. It appears that men counter this tendency through a natural inclination to settle into a steady job, *if they can,* as they get older. Men in the oldest age-groups are clearly hanging on to their employment and in fact of the 37 men who are within two years of retirement, only one man has changed employer in the past five years and he only once. When one looks at men over fifty in construction work, one cannot escape the feeling that one has met men who have coped well with the demands of a tough and demanding trade. Those who failed to cope are no longer there to be interviewed. We cannot know fully whether this very strong age-effect is due mostly to some natural restiveness among young men or to the need among older men to be careful to retain their place in the industry. But there is some evidence among the remaining older men that the going is getting tough. Health problems were described earlier. There is other evidence to suggest that older men suffer disproportionately from recurring unemployment. Men in the 36–50 age-group despite having considerably fewer changes of employment have an incidence of unemployment only marginally lower than those in the 20–35 age-

Table 5.1 Job mobility by age and position in life-cycle

Number of jobs in five years	Age-group									
	16–20	21–25	26–30	31–35	36–40	41–45	46–50	51–55	56–60	61 +
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1	50	27	27	30	30	37	49	50	61	75
2	23	20	13	16	23	27	17	21	16	13
3	9	15	14	17	15	10	9	11	10	4
4	8	13	16	10	12	12	15	8	5	4
5 & 6	6	16	18	16	15	11	7	7	6	3
7–14	3	9	12	11	5	3	3	3	2	0
Base	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	192	*202*	*171*	*188*	*159*	*119*	*98*	*114*	*101*	*70*

	Position in life-cycle								
	16–25 years			26–40 years			41 and over		
	Single	Married, no child	Married, children	Single	Married, no child	Married, children	Single	Married, no child	Married, children
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1	42	33	19	40	22	32	62	60	54
2	21	14	18	13	22	22	7	19	19
3	12	16	11	11	24	14	13	6	11
4	10	12	17	9	11	12	4	8	9
5 & 6	10	14	21	19	19	13	11	5	6
7–14	5	11	14	8	2	7	2	2	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	309	*80*	*141*	*47*	*46*	*406*	*47*	*144*	*192*

Figure 3 Job mobility by age



group (34% as opposed to 40%) and, moreover, the older men seem to spend longer unemployed, finding it more difficult to secure new employment than the younger men. Likewise, it is only among the younger men that the rate of voluntary mobility exceeds the rate of involuntary mobility. After the age of forty, redundancy and dismissal become a more likely form of mobility than voluntary movement.

Other personal characteristics

Little else emerged among the rather limited amount of personal information we asked men to give us that proved to have any direct bearing on job mobility that was not also connected with age and position in the life cycle. For example, men actually owning their own homes were much more stable in their employment histories but, of course, they are also much older than those still buying houses—though again there was some tendency for council house dwellers to be more mobile than other men. Surprisingly perhaps, ethnic or national origin has only slight association with job mobility. For example, 40% of the 80 men born in Ireland have had more than three jobs over the past five years compared with 28% among the native-born workforce. Migration, then, does not necessarily imply instability of employment, relative to the industry as a whole.

Type of work

This section provides the key pieces of information necessary to understand labour mobility in the construction industry. What kinds of worker doing what kinds of work move or are obliged to move from one employer to another more or less often than other kinds? Table 5.2 provides the basic information, showing the distribution of overall job mobility by working status, skill-level, training, and craft group.

Men employed as craftsmen-foremen (10% of the sample of employed men) seem considerably more stable in their employment than the men they supervise, 55% having served the same firm continually for five years compared with 35% among the workers. However, those foremen* who do change jobs move at the same rate as other men.

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*Remember that the sample excluded foremen who did no manual work. These foremen are all craftsman-foremen who pursue their own trade as well as supervising the work of other men and apprentices.

Table 5.2 Job mobility and type of work

		Number of jobs in five years						Base (=100%)
		1	2	3	4	5 & 6	7–14	
Status								
Worker	%	35	20	13	12	12	8	*1286*
Foreman	%	55	16	8	5	7	9	*128*
Skill								
Skilled	%	40	21	12	11	10	6	*861*
Semi-skilled	%	42	16	14	10	14	4	*296*
Unskilled	%	35	17	13	13	15	7	*190*
Training								
Apprenticed	%	41	21	11	11	10	7	*612*
Government training scheme	%	19	20	13	12	19	17	*71*
Other formal training	%	36	24	13	11	9	7	*89*
No formal training	%	41	18	14	11	13	4	*694*
Craft group								
Carpenters and joiners	%	37	24	11	10	10	9	*159*
Bricklayers and masons	%	33	21	9	12	13	12	*124*
Electricians	%	45	25	11	6	4	8	*98*
Plumbers, gas fitters, H&V engineers	%	46	15	13	9	12	5	*114*
Painters and decorators	%	44	22	9	11	9	5	*144*
Mech equipment operators	%	40	17	17	14	9	3	*90*
Plasterers and tilers	%	47	13	13	9	16	2	*55*
Scaffolders and steelers	%	16	22	16	14	24	10	*51*
Other skilled men	%	48	15	12	9	12	4	*221*
Labourers and mates	%	32	18	14	14	16	6	*231*
Drivers and other unskilled	%	42	21	14	12	9	2	*127*

Training background has little effect upon men's job mobility with one clear exception: the men (5% of the total sample) who came to their trade through a Government Training Scheme have had considerably more jobs over the past five years than those adopting a conventional route into the industry. Probably, for many of them, entry into GTS was part of a disrupted pattern of employment during the past five years rather than any reflection on their ability to hold down a job with their GTS qualifications.

With respect to skill-level, the familiar tripartition of the sample reveals no significant differences *overall* in job mobility between the skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled men. But as Table 5.3 shows, this overall result conceals important differences within age-groups. As one might expect, the youngest men divide into stable trainees (skilled) and mobile young labourers (unskilled). This difference persists among the young (21–35) fully-fledged workers; half of the young labourers are mobile (4 jobs or more) compared with 39% of the young skilled and 38% of the semi-skilled workers. Among older workers (36 plus) the difference in mobility between tradesmen and labourers disappears.

The near perfect curvilinear pattern of mobility for skilled men over the age range (that is, reading down the left-hand column of Table 5.3) with mobility rising sharply as apprentices become young tradesmen and declining steadily as they get older, conceals some very interesting variations within the skilled group according to their trade specialism.

Table 5.3 Mobility by skill-level by age

Age-group	No of jobs	Self-reported skill-level		
		Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
		%	%	%
16–20	1	57	47	36
	2	27	23	17
	3	8	10	11
	4	5	3	17
	5–6	3	13	11
	7–14	1	3	8
Base		*117*	*30*	*36*
21–35	1	30	28	18
	2	17	13	18
	3	15	21	14
	4	13	11	14
	5–6	15	19	23
	7–14	11	8	13
Base		*357*	*107*	*88*
36–50	1	36	35	38
	2	25	20	19
	3	11	14	13
	4	13	12	15
	5–6	10	17	13
	7–14	5	3	2
Base		*220*	*101*	*48*
51–65	1	55	72	63
	2	19	12	14
	3	9	6	14
	4	5	8	7
	5–6	7	3	2
	7–14	3	0	0
Base		*166*	*69*	*45*

Among the larger and more traditional craft groups the two that stand out most clearly are the bricklayers, who are considerably more job-mobile than others, and for opposite reasons the electricians. Some of the variation in mobility between trade groups can be accounted for by compositional factors, especially age (see Table 5.4). Painters, for example, appear more stable than they might be because they contain a very high proportion of juveniles, compared to other craft groups. Likewise, scaffolders are (and probably need to be) rather young

Table 5.4 Proportion of men having had four or more jobs in five years within each craft group for four age-groups

Age-group	Carpenters and joiners	Bricklayers	Electricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mechanical equipment operators	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders and steel-fixers	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
16–20	4%	11%	5%	7%	18%	. .	. .	. .	21%	25%	. .
Base	*27*	*19*	*19*	*13*	*33*				*19*	*36*	
21–35	39%	56%	25%	33%	37%	39%	45%	58%	32%	54%	36%
Base	*62*	*43*	*53*	*60*	*46*	*38*	*20*	*24*	*89*	*81*	*45*
36–50	36%	46%	15%	23%	25%	15%	33%	47%	24%	37%	18%
Base	*46*	*29*	*20*	*22*	*29*	*34*	*12*	*17*	*59*	*68*	*40*
51–65	17%	21%	. .	21%	14%	. .	. .	. .	15%	9%	9%
Base	*24*	*33*		*19*	*36*				*54*	*46*	*35*

but no so young as to include many juveniles so they cluster in the crucial high mobility group aged between 21 and 35. On the other hand, electricians are stable in their employment histories despite having a *higher* proportion of young men than some other trade groups and bricklayers are mobile despite their having among them a slightly higher proportion of *older* men. As a result, we see in Table 5.4 that young (21–35) electricians are more than twice as secure in their employment as young bricklayers, scaffolders, or, of course, young labourers. Middle-aged electricians (36–50) are three times as secure as their peers working as bricklayers or scaffolders. This result may be connected to the fact that electricians and the plumbers who are also more stable than other groups, tend mostly to work for trade-specialist companies (see Table 2.8) which are stable entities who value continuity of employment and having a large pool of skilled men on their books. Bricklayers, on the other hand, tend to work for general contractors.

Since we know that the hazards of mobility, in particular, redundancy and unemployment, tend to increase in proportion to the rate of mobility, it follows that where we find a group of workers more prone than others to move from one employer to another, there too we find that group more likely to suffer some of the involuntary causes and the consequence of their higher rate of mobility. But there are many anomalies. For example, bricklayers are more likely than electricians to have had the experience of being made redundant (41% as opposed to 32%) but are *less* likely to have suffered a period of unemployment (35% as opposed to 45%). This again may have to do with the nature of their employer. Having lost a job with a specialist electrical contractor, an electrician may find it hard to get into another whereas a bricklayer is more likely to be discharged by a general contractor but finds it easier to get work with another.

As a crude index for comparison, we calculated each trade group's 'marketability' by subtracting the proportion within it having experienced one or more involuntary moves (that is, strictly redundancy or dismissal) from the proportion having moved voluntarily once or more times. The results are given in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Per cent voluntarily mobile minus per cent involuntary mobile, by trade

Rank	Craft	% voluntarily— % involuntarily	*Base*
1	Electricians	27	*98*
2	Painters	20	*144*
3	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations	19	*127*
4	Bricklayers	19	*124*
5	Scaffolders and steel-fixers	16	*51*
6	Other construction skills	13	*221*
7	Plumbers	12	*114*
8	Carpenters and joiners	11	*159*
9	Plasterers and tilers	11	*55*
10	Mechanical equipment operators	8	*90*
11	Labourers and mates	−11	*231*

Here we see that the stability of the electricians as a group embraces a high degree of volition and they have the least experience of redundancy, both in comparative and absolute terms. Painters, bricklayers, and even more surprisingly, drivers also experience significantly more voluntary than involuntary mobility though, for them, the aggregate of redundancy is still high. The least favoured craft group in this respect are the plant and mechanical equipment operators but their aggregate rate of mobility is lower than some apparently more favoured groups, like bricklayers. The one obviously disfavoured group overall are, of course, the labourers and mates who suffer a negative ratio of voluntary to involuntary movement; unskilled men in construction have a very high rate of overall mobility and they are more likely to move as a result of being discharged than they are to move by choice.

Turning once more to the question of unemployment, Table 5.6 shows that the incidence of past and present unemployment is distributed somewhat differently between skilled and unskilled men. The unskilled are one and a half times more likely to experience unemployment and, having experienced it, are two and a half times more likely to amass a total of more than *nine months* out of work over five years (21% as opposed to 49%). Even so, it remains worth noting that still between 34% and 37% of the skilled men experience unemployment and, of these, still one in four remain unemployed for more than six months and most of these (one in five overall) for more than nine months.

Table 5.6 Unemplyment by skill

Incidence of unemployment (including present)	Skill level		
	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
	%	%	%
None	63	57	45
1	21	19	23
2	8	11	14
3	4	6	10
4+	4	6	8
	100	100	100
Amount of past completed unemployment periods*			
None	66	65	54
1–4 weeks	9	6	6
5–12 weeks	9	7	7
13–24 weeks	6	4	6
25–36 weeks	2	6	5
37 or more weeks	7	13	22
	100	100	100
Base	*860*	*307*	*217*
% more than 37 weeks unemployed as a % of those experiencing any unemployment completed in the past 5 years	21	35	49

*Upper limit estimate

Again, the past and present figures for skilled and semi-skilled men conceal some wide differences between craft groups (see Table 5.7). Comparing Table 5.7 with Table 4.8 we see that there are some differences too in present unemployment rates and past experiences of unemployment. Plasterers, for example, are currently among the medium range for unemployment but in the past they have been the group most insulated from unemployment —only 20% of plasterers have completed any period of unemployment in the past five years. Electricians, in contrast have a relatively low rate of current unemployment but have been less fortunate in the past although, like plumbers, they tend on average to spend less time on the dole when they are unemployed. Among painters, the reverse is true; 36% have been unemployed and of these 60% spent more than six months unemployed.

Of all the skilled groups, the scaffolders and steel-fixers seem to spend enormous amounts of their time out of work. Their pattern is similar to the electricians in that they tend to experience somewhat briefer periods of unemployment than average and are not like the painters who, when they lose a job, tend to spend much longer periods unemployed, but they experience them at far greater frequency: 66% of scaffolders and steel-fixers have spent one or more periods out of work (most of them more than one) but no more than 28% of these have thereby totalled more than six months out of work. Lest they should be thought typical, one should remember that scaffolders and steel-fixers are only a very small group of specialist tradesmen.

Still the group that draws most attention, as we described above, are the labourers and mates: 26% are unemployed now, 43% have completed other periods of unemployment in the past five years, 63% of these being out of work for more than six months and 50% for more than nine months. This result is even more striking when the analysis is confined to young workers, aged 21 to 30 (see Table 5.8). Young labourers and mates seem, almost literally, to spend half their time out of work; 42% of the total group of young unskilled workers have spent more than nine months out of work over the past five years compared with only 7–10% of their skilled and semi-skilled peers. Using the lower-limit calculation, we find that this figure drops to 28% among the young unskilled (and to 4% among the rest of young workers). The differences between the (a) upper and (b) lower limit estimates is the difference between (a) periods of unemployment some of which contained some other cause which, for the most part, is illness and (b) pure periods of unemployment containing no other recorded cause. This means that exactly one third of those who amassed really long periods of unemployment were unemployed in conjunction with some other cause, mostly illness.

Now there is no reason why young labourers should be more prone to infections and the like than are their

Table 5.7 Past unemployment by craft groups

	Carpenters and joiners	Bricklayers	Electricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mechanical equipment operators	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations
% having had one or more periods of unemployment (including present)	31%	39%	45%	35%	43%	33%	25%	72%	37%	55%	36%
Upper limit estimate of time spent in *completed* periods of unemployment*	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	70	64	57	69	64	67	80	34	68	56	67
1–4 weeks	8	12	12	8	4	14	2	20	4	4	8
5–12 weeks	8	7	13	8	7	3	8	17	9	8	7
13–24 weeks	10	5	5	8	5	1	0	10	5	5	5
25–36 weeks	1	2	4	3	4	9	0	7	2	6	2
37 or more weeks	3	11	7	4	17	6	9	12	12	21	10
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*159*	*124*	*98*	*114*	*144*	*90*	*55*	*51*	*221*	*231*	*127*

*Excluding present periods of unemployment

Table 5.8 Comparison of the experience of unemployment among young construction workers (aged 21–30) by skill-level

Time spent in completed periods of unemployment	Skilled		Semi-skilled		Unskilled	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
None	60	64	61	63	28	34
1–4 weeks	13	12	4	6	7	9
5–12 weeks	12	13	10	12	9	8
13–24 weeks	6	6	6	8	9	17
25–36 weeks	3	1	8	6	4	4
37 or more weeks	7	4	10	4	42	28
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*230*		*49*		*53*	

(a) = Upper limit estimate
(b) = Lower limit (that is excluding periods of unemployment that embraced other causes, for example illness)

more skilled young workmates so this difference seems likely to be associated with accidents. We should stress at once that the numbers involved are much too small to prove this point one way or another, but it does tie up precisely until our earlier finding that younger labourers had a record of past disablement (Chapter 3) much higher than other groups of young workers.

Type of Employer

The information we have about employers comes directly from the men so, naturally, it is subject to unknown but probably quite wide margins of error. The questions, therefore, were framed in a very general manner and concerned the employer's general character (specialist or general contractor, etc) approximate size and distribution and his product specialism.

Previous research has shown that the largest general contractors, especially those in civil engineering, have the highest turnover rates so, thought it does not necessarily follow automatically, we expected men working for such companies to have the highest rates of mobility while men working for the smaller specialist companies, like electrical contractors, would be much more stable. However, the data shown in Table 5.10 first indicates most clearly that, compared to the private sector, employment in local authority and government building and maintenance departments represents something of a haven of stability. Only about 14% of men now employed in the public sector have had more than three other employers in the last five years compared to 32% of those employed in the private sector. This contrast is particularly marked among unskilled men. Labourers employed in the public sector have among them the same 14% having three or more previous employers in five years as their skilled colleagues but among labourers employed by general contractors this figure is 37% and by specialist firms (employing some 20% of the unskilled workers) it is 50%. Also, it appears to be older men who are attracted in greater numbers to a job in the public sector. Only 10% of the youngest workers (16–20) are employed by local or central government; the proportion in the public sector stays constant at 15–16% across the wide age-span between 21 and 50 but then jumps to 26% among the over-fifties.

There is no difference overall in mobility between those working for specialist and general contractors which throws a puzzling light on the very high stability rates shown earlier by the plumbers and electricians, who tend also to be employed by specialist companies. On the other hand the more mobile carpenters and the ultra-mobile scaffolders and steel-fixers tend also to be employed by specialist companies so clearly there is some variability in men's prospects for employment stability between the more specialised skills.

We are now in a position to consider the question raised at the end of the previous section concerning possible explanations for the very different behaviour of voluntary and involuntary movers with respect to work in other industries and coping with unemployment. Some of the information examined above would suggest the hypothesis that it is predominantly the skilled men, particularly the younger skilled men, who adopt the 'rational strategy' of seeking work outside the industry in order to minimise the chance of waiting for new construction work while unemployed. Those who have remained in the construction industry despite a history of redundancy and unemployment seem likely to be labourers. Or do they? A priori, it is possible to argue with equal force that those trained to skilled construction work, especially men like bricklayers, would find it *more* difficult to offer their skills to other kinds of employer than would the unskilled who might be expected to be able to turn their hands to anything.

Whilst it is true that 43% of unskilled workers have worked in other industries (especially drivers) compared with 25% of skilled and 31% of semi-skilled men, the remaining evidence is as equivocal as the argument. Table 5.9 shows, first, that there are no clear differences in skill-level between men having stable, voluntary, involuntary, or a mixed experience, mobile or not. When broken down further into craft groups, it is possible to pick out a few predictable differences; in particular, bricklayers are common among the high involuntary group since they more than any other craft group have a non-transferable skill and are least able to avoid unemployment by leaving the industry. Labourers are also commonly found among men experiencing a lot of involuntary mobility, as we know already, but they are also to be found in considerable numbers among the voluntary movers. So it appears that a transferable skill—like being a craft qualified electrician—may certainly help in transferring out of the industry when need and opportunity coincide, but a skill is not essential.

Nor is the resourcefulness of youth the main explanation for the puzzling habit of the high voluntary mobile men to move outside the industry so much. All three high mobility groups are younger than their corresponding low mobility groups whatever the type of previous experience of mobility. These in turn, predictably, are younger than the stable workers. It is, however, noticeable that the low involuntary group are somewhat older than the low voluntary and low mixed groups, confirming that older men prefer to hang on to their job

Table 5.9 Type of job mobility by skill, craft group, and age

	Men moving						
	Stable workers	Voluntarily		Involuntarily		Voluntarily and involuntarily	
		Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Skill-level							
Skilled	62	67	58	60	59	54	58
Semi-skilled	23	19	21	21	23	25	19
Unskilled	13	13	20	16	18	17	23
No answer	3	1	0	3	0	4	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Craft group							
Carpenters and joiners	11	12	11	15	11	9	15
Bricklayers	7	9	11	5	14	7	15
Electricians	8	7	5	13	3	2	7
Plumbers	9	9	7	7	10	7	4
Plasterers	11	13	9	8	6	9	9
Mechanical equipment operators	7	6	3	8	1	10	6
Painters	5	3	2	3	7	5	2
Scaffolders and steel-fixers	1	3	8	6	8	5	3
Other construction skills	19	13	16	14	14	15	11
Labourers and mates	13	13	20	15	20	23	25
Drivers and miscellaneous occupations	10	11	9	8	6	9	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Age							
16–20	17	17	11	9	7	11	3
21–30	18	29	41	18	34	29	47
31–40	18	27	29	26	28	28	34
41–50	16	14	8	21	18	20	8
51–60	21	11	10	22	10	9	8
60 and over	9	2	2	3	3	2	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*550*	*251*	*133*	*117*	*71*	*187*	*102*

whenever they can and tend to move when made redundant. One would anyway expect that redundancy is an undiscriminating force in labour mobility, thus the age difference between low and high involuntary movers is the smallest compared with the age difference between low and high voluntary and mixed experience groups. Overall, though, the differences we can point to are not great and we will have to look elsewhere for a further explanation of this interesting feature of labour-market behaviour in construction.

Contrary to previous research, we find that size of employer has only little impact on the stability of the workforce; only those employed by the largest firms show higher rates of mobility than other men. On the other hand, we stress again that these measures are approximate and, more important, it proved impossible to ask men to distinguish between different sizes of firms above the 1,000 employee mark. According to previous research, it is in the 1,000 to 10,000 range that the largest firms emerge with the highest turnover rates.

Table 5.10 Job mobility by type of employer

Type		Number of jobs						*Base (= 100%)*
		1	2	3	4	5 & 6	7–14	
Specialist company	%	38	19	11	11	15	6	*476*
General contractors	%	35	19	14	12	13	7	*680*
Local authority	%	56	20	10	8	4	3	*195*
Nationalised industries and government depts.	%	73	7	7	3	7	3	*30*
'Private sector'	%	36	19	13	12	13	7	
'Public sector'	%	59	18	9	7	4	3	
Size (number of employees)								
7 or less	%	42	19	11	10	12	6	*158*
8–24	%	40	20	13	8	14	6	*217*
25–59	%	40	21	11	12	11	6	*185*
60–99	%	39	26	10	11	11	3	*92*
100–299	%	36	17	14	15	12	6	*111*
300–1000	%	37	18	15	6	16	8	*112*
More than 1000	%	26	17	14	16	18	10	*184*
Distribution								
Local firm	%	45	22	11	10	10	2	*199*
Works up to 50 miles	%	39	18	12	10	13	8	*317*
150 miles	%	38	19	11	16	13	5	*200*
All over Britain	%	29	18	15	11	17	9	*426*

The product specialism of firms also has little impact on mobility, with those employed by the heavy civil engineering companies showing only slightly more mobile histories than their counterparts employed by house builders and civic building specialists.

6 Geographical mobility, work and job mobility

Like most manual workers, construction operatives do not travel great distances to their work, despite the inherently mobile nature of their employers' operations. True, one in ten said they had no regular place of work but of those travelling to a fixed site over half said they travel less than five miles from their home and only one in five travel more than fifteen miles. Fully one third of employees make use of company transport facilities to get to work. Other incentives to mobility include payment for travelling time, received by 39% of those travelling to a fixed site. Of these, 28% are paid their basic time rate, 27% are paid a standard rate per mile and the remainder are paid on a great variety of locally-negotiated schemes, some apparently very informal.

Exactly one quarter of the sample—employees and the self-employed alike—report that they have at some time during the past five years worked so far away from home that they have stayed away overnight. This proportion is much higher among younger rather than older men (one third of the 20–35 age-group and only one in ten of men over 50), among electricians (42%) and scaffolders (54%) rather than other trade groups and is especially high among the highest paid skilled operatives. Generally speaking, though, this kind of mobility is not very popular with men since only 17% say unreservedly they would stay overnight in future, 58% only under very special circumstances, and 31% will not entertain the idea at all. House moving, on the other hand, goes on at a fairly steady pace, 34% of employees and 39% of self-employed men having moved home since January 1974, 9% have moved twice and 4% more than that. Moving home is, of course, heavily dependent on man's position in the life-cycle: 70% of married men under 30 have done so in the last five years, only 20% of those over 50.

The questionnaire probed in some detail to establish what connections may exist in men's experience, as they recalled it, between moving home and the demands of their employment. The answer, from the men, appears to be almost none. Asked to give the main reason for their moving house only 4% of those moving once said it was to take up a new job. Pressed to say if their decision to move home was influenced in any way by their work, only a further 4% could recall that it was. These figures were a little higher for those moving more frequently but did not exceed 10%. Nearly all the reasons given had to do with preference, opportunity, and changed family circumstances and were not about work.

Men were also pressed to consider the negative side of the relationship between geographical mobility and work and were asked: *"During the past five years or so, can you remember a time when you have not taken up the offer of a job from a new employer, or even lost a job you had because you were unable or unwilling to travel a longer distance each day to work, or stay away from home overnight, or move your home to another place?"*

Only 6%, 4% and 1% of all employees respectively answered "yes" to these three questions, half of them reporting lost opportunities and half losing their employment because of it. On the other hand, one might regard the prefix 'only' in the last sentence with due caution. These are quite serious problems for those who suffer them and to report the fact that 'only' between six and eleven per cent of employees have had one or more of these experiences over the past five years does not mean the problem is considered trivial but merely describes its limited scope *within the sample.* A further point to be borne in mind for this and for other issues is that we do not and cannot know the exact scale of how problems of this kind result in men leaving the industry altogether because our sample represents a slice through the current workforce in construction at one point in time.

Looking now at the relationship between geographical mobility and job mobility, we find first that there is no connection between the distance travelled to work and job mobility; those in the habit of travelling many miles to work are no more likely to have changed employers than those walking to work around the corner. On the other hand, men who have worked away from home overnight are more job mobile than those who always stay at home and actually moving home turns out to be an excellent predictor of moving jobs (Table 6.1). The more often a man has moved home the more likely he is to have had many more employers than the average worker. A majority of the men who have moved home more than once in the last five years have had more than three employers during the same period of time.

So how is it possible that only a handful of men would admit to us that their change of address had anything at all to do with their employment, let alone rank employment considerations as a primary cause of their moving home and yet still get the very strong relationship shown in Table 6.1? First one has to consider that the issue has two quite different aspects. Some men may move to get jobs while others may lose their job because they are unable or unwilling to move. Table 6.1 confirms our earlier speculation that for a minority of men (about one in ten) the negative aspects of this question are

Table 6.1 Geographical mobility and job mobility

Number of jobs	Stayed away overnight		Moved home in last five years				The 4% of the sample who lost job because of geographical mobility problems	The 5% who did not take new job because of geographical mobility problems
	Yes	No	Not at all	Once	Twice	Three times		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1	24	45	46	26	10	10	0	23
2	18	20	18	20	15	4	21	18
3	14	12	12	14	23	13	18	12
4	14	10	10	12	13	13	19	17
5–6	18	10	10	17	22	23	23	15
7–14	11	4	4	11	18	37	19	15
	100	100	100	00	100	100	100	100
Base	*336*	*1078*	*926*	*485*	*131*	*48*	*62*	*78*

proving a problem. Those who report having been made redundant or having to forgo opportunities of work because they could not become geographically mobile are certainly men with an impressive history of job mobility; it seems to be something that happens to them quite frequently.

Second, one may recall the other reasons men gave for moving home. These had nearly all to do with changes in life circumstances, particularly to do with marriage and starting families. Men who do this are largely young, especially in the 20–35 age-group. For other reasons, we know these men are especially prone to job mobility. Indeed we find that the proportion in this crucial, job mobile age-group rises dramatically among the home-movers, like this:

	Has moved home			
	Not at all	Once	Twice	Three times
% 20–35 years old	27%	62%	76%	82%

Since nearly all the men who are highly geographically mobile are between 20 and 35 years old their job mobility is probably due to their age and not to their willingness to move around the country. When the relationship between geographical mobility and job mobility was examined separately for different age strata, some residual effect was found and most of this, oddly enough was among older men. So the problems mentioned above may fall more heavily upon men over fifty.

7 The self-employed man

The 20% of the hireable workforce in the construction industry who are self-employed (see Table 2.1) pose a perplexing problem for any study of labour mobility. Table 4.1 shows that in one sense they appear more stable than employees. Sixty-five per cent of the self-employed had stuck to the same job, that is to being self-employed, over the five-year period compared with only 45% of current employees who had remained with one employer. (Both figures may include some individuals who were out of work at the start or the end of the five-year period.) However, since self-employed men are able to move between clients without changing their self-employed status, this apparent stability may conceal a great deal of de-facto mobility. Since self-employed informants were not asked to give a history of the clients they had worked for over the past few years it is not possible to give any estimate here of what their de-facto mobility rate was. Instead, this section will focus on how far the working arrangements of the self-employed are similar to those of employees, on the characteristics of the self-employed, and on their reasons for becoming self-employed.

Table 7.1 Whether works for contractors or direct to the public by whether provides material or plant as well as labour†

	Total*	Works for contractors	Works direct to public	Both
	%	%	%	%
Provides material or plant	42	8	76	57
Provides labour only	40	82	6	16
Sometimes provides material or plant	18	10	18	27
	100	100	100	100
Base (total answering)	*328*	*130*	*80*	*103*
Total not answering	*3*	*0*	*1*	*2*

† Table refers to self-employed manual construction workers without employees

* The total numbers in the columns do not sum to the overall total since 15 informants did not state whether they worked for contractors or direct to the public.

The bottom two rows of Table 7.1 show how the 331 self-employed informants (this figure is slightly below the number in Table 2.1 as a few men who were themselves small-scale employers have been excluded) are divided between those who work for contractors, those who work direct to the public and those who do both. Of the 316 individuals who provided this information, 130 (41%) worked for contractors, 81 (26%) worked direct to the public, and 105 (33%) sometimes worked for contractors and sometimes for the public. Looking along the second row of the table we see that these groups differ markedly as to whether they provide more than just their own labour. Eighty two per cent of those whose only clients are contractors always work as labour-only sub-contractors. By contrast 94% of those who always work direct to the public, and 84% of those who sometimes work for the public, provide plant or materials at least some of the time. This suggests a fairly sharp division between a group of workers (those who restrict themselves to work for contractors) who function much as employees, and another group who work for the public and take responsibility for all aspects of a job. Table 7.2 shows that this distinction is reflected in the way the men think of their pay.

Table 7.2 Whether works for contractors or direct to the public by whether reckons earnings as a weekly or only as an annual amount†

	Total*	Works for contractors	Works direct to public	Both
	%	%	%	%
Reckons earnings as a weekly amount	61	84	41	47
Reckons earnings as an annual amount	39	16	59	53
	100	100	100	100
Base (total answering)	*328*	*129*	*80*	*104*
Total not answering	*3*	*1*	*1*	*1*

† Table relates to self-employed manual construction workers without employees

* See note at Table 7.1

Table 7.2 is based on answers to the question *"Do you reckon your earnings as a weekly amount or only as an annual amount?"* The first row shows that 84% of the men who work only for contractors think of their pay in

Table 7.3 Whether works for contractors or direct to public by craft group†

Craft group	Total*	Works for contractors	Works direct to public	Both
	%	%	%	%
Carpenters and joiners	17	23	10	14
Bricklayers	13	23	5	7
Electricians	4	0	1	10
Plumbers	8	5	10	11
Painters	17	15	20	15
Mechanical equipment operators	2	3	0	0
Plasterers and tilers	7	7	0	12
Scaffolders and steel-fixers	1	2	0	1
Other construction skills	25	13	51	23
Labourers and mates	4	7	2	3
Drivers and miscellaneous occupations	2	2	1	3
	100	100	100	100
Base	*331*	*130*	*81*	*105*

† See note at foot of Table 7.1

* See note at foot of Table 7.1

Table 7.4 Craft group by whether provides material or plant as well as labour*

	Total	Carpenters and joiners	Bricklayers	Electricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mechanical equipment operators‡	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders and steelfixers‡	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Provides material or plant	42	24	17	62	69	49	1	41	1	59	14	3
Provides labour only	40	56	69	8	19	21	4	41	2	25	86	4
Sometimes provides material or plant	18	20	14	31	12	30	0	18	0	16	0	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	—	100	—	100	100	—
Base (self-employed manual construction workers without employees)	*328*	*55*	*42*	*13*	*26*	*57*	*5*	*22*	*3*	*83*	*14*	*8*

* Table relates to self-employed manual construction workers without employees. Three informants who did not state whether they provided material or plant have been excluded from this table.

‡ Absolute numbers given instead of percentages, because of the small number of cases.

weekly terms in the same way as employees would. Over half of the men who work directly to the public, on the other hand, reckon their earnings annually.

Table 7.3 shows the difference in trade group composition between the group who work for contractors and the group who work directly to the public. A high proportion of the group who work for contractors are carpenters or bricklayers, while electricians and plumbers are less well represented among them than among those who do at least some work directly for the public. It is particularly striking that over half of those who confine themselves to working for the public come into the other construction skills category. These were mainly informants who described themselves, disarmingly, as general builders.

Table 7.4 also relates to the trade groups into which our sample of self-employed men is divided, and looks at whether they provide materials and plant or only labour. The proportion always providing materials or plant is lowest amongst the labourers and mates (14%) and the bricklayers (17%) and highest among the plumbers (69%). The proportion who limit themselves to providing labour only is lowest among the electricians (8%).

There is a considerable difference in age between the men who only work direct to the public and those who do at least some work for contractors as Table 7.5 shows. Thirty two per cent of the men who work direct to the public are aged 51 or over compared with only 9% of these self-employed who work for contractors.

The self-employed were asked whether they belonged to 'a working partnership or any informal group of self-employed workers' or whether they worked 'completely independently'. Only 24% replied that they belonged to a partnership or an informal group. There was hardly any difference in this proportion between those working for contractors and those working for the public.

Table 7.5 Whether works for contractors or direct to the public by age†

Age-group	Total*	Works for contractors	Works direct to public	Both
	%	%	%	%
16–20	2	5	0	1
21–30	26	26	19	31
31–40	34	39	20	35
41–50	24	21	30	27
51–60	10	6	25	5
61+	3	3	7	1
	100	100	100	100
Base	*331*	*130*	*81*	*105*

† See note at foot of Table 7.1

* See note at foot of Table 7.1

Table 7.6 Employment status by whether informants feel they have a free choice of the kind of job they can get†

	Self-employed (without own employees)	Employees
	%*	%*
Free choice	65	39
Take what's going	32	54
Don't know	3	6
Base	*331*	*1242*

† See note at foot of Table 7.1

* Percentages exclude a few individuals who did not answer the question on whether they had a free choice.

Table 7.6 is based on informants' answers to the question *"Do you feel that you generally have a free choice of the kind of job you can get or do you usually have to take whatever job is going?"* The top row of the table shows that self-employed informants are much more likely than employees to feel in control of the kind of job they can get. In this they resemble the more mobile amongst skilled employees, as will be seen in Chapter 10. This self-confidence is shared equally by the self-employed working for contractors and those working direct to the public. This sense of free choice may arise from the circumstances of self-employed work, but it may also be a necessary precondition for a decision to take up self-employment since this would be a risky move for anyone who did not feel sure of his ability to obtain work.

Table 7.7 throws some light on the views of self-employed informants as to the best ways of seeking work.

Table 7.7 Preferred methods of seeking work if unemployed†

Ranked	Ask friends	Go around sites	Follow-up ads in paper	Write or phone firms	Use labour exchange or job centre
	%	%	%	%	%
First	50	20	18	8	6
Second	20	22	24	29	5
Third	13	27	24	23	9
Fourth or Fifth	17	31	33	40	80
	100	100	100	100	100

Base (self-employed men without employees) = 331. Percentages exclude a few individuals who did not answer the question.

† See note at foot of Table 7.1

It is based on the question, *"If you were unemployed today which of these ways would you rely on most to help you get a new job?"* A comparison with Table 3.7 shows that the pattern for self-employed informants is much the same as that for employees. The self-employed seem to put rather more emphasis on asking friends and on newspaper advertisements, and considerably less on the use of job centres, than do employees.

Table 7.8 Reason for becoming self-employed by whether works for contractors or direct to the public†

Reason for becoming self-employed	Total*	Works for contractors	Works direct to public	Both
	%	%	%	%
To be own boss/ freedom to choose jobs	40	28	52	46
Money	23	30	7	26
Only way of obtaining work	14	19	14	9
Other	23	23	27	19
	100	100	100	100
Bases				
Answering	*328*	*129*	*81*	*104*
No answer	*3*	*1*	*0*	*1*

* See note at foot of Table 7.1
† See note at foot of Table 7.1

One of the questions self-employed informants were asked in the job-history section of the questionnaire was *"What was your main reason for becoming a self-employed worker?"* Table 7.8 is based on their answers. The main reason, given by 40% of informants, was a desire for independence. The two other commonly mentioned reasons were money and that it was the only way available of obtaining work. There is an interesting difference between the replies of those who work for contractors only and those who only work direct to the public. Among the former the desire for more money (30%) and the wish for independence (28%) are of equal importance. Among the latter, however, money (given as the main reason by 7%) is insignificant beside the desire to be one's own boss, given as the chief reason by over half the men.

8 Pay and hours

The pay and the hours are among the most important characteristics of any job. Chapter 9 will examine the relationship between construction workers' pay and hours and their mobility between employers. This chapter outlines what the informants told our interviewers about their earnings and hours of work. It should be remembered that the fieldwork for this survey was conducted between March and June 1979.

Tables 8.1 and 8.2 relate to the 1,023 informants aged 21 or over who at the time of interview were full-time employees of construction firms. Table 8.1 is derived from their answers to the question *"How much did you earn last week, before any deductions were made?"* It shows a wide spread with 3% earning less than £50 gross while 8% earned £130 or more. Since the question referred solely to the week before interview chance circumstances, such as absence due to sickness, or the availability of an unusual amount of overtime work, may have made the spread slightly wider than it would otherwise have been. Slightly over half the informants were paid between £60 and £89 for the week. The mean pay, at £85.50, is towards the upper end of that range because of the long upper tail of the distribution.

Labourers and painters are the two craft groups with the lowest mean pay (£76.30 and £74.50 respectively) though the two distributions are different in that there are more labourers than painters in both the highest and the lowest pay bands. Electricians and plant operatives are two groups with comparatively high weekly earnings, both averaging over £100 gross per week. The group with the highest mean pay are scaffolders, a group which also includes for the purposes of this survey various other workers who work with metal. The mean pay of £118.70 has been pulled upwards by the high proportion (29%) who earned over £130. The numbers involved here are very small—the table only contains 31 scaffolders altogether—and it may well be that the figures for this group have been unduly affected by a small number of atypical individuals.

Table 8.2 is derived from a series of questions dealing with the informants' hours of work. The top row gives the mean hours worked in the week before interview by members of the different craft groups. The average for all groups taken together is 45.2 hours. The group working the longest hours are the plant operatives with a mean of over 50 hours. Other groups with mean hours higher than the overall average are scaffolders, electricians, labourers and mates, and drivers and miscellaneous occupations.

The second row of the table gives the proportion of informants who had worked some overtime in the previous week. This figure ranges from 78% in the case of plant operatives down to 30% among painters and 24% among plasterers. The third row gives the mean hours overtime worked in the previous week by those who worked any at all, while in the fourth row the overtime worked is averaged over all the members of each group. Thus the 42% of labourers and mates who put in any overtime worked an average of over 11 hours each, but when account is taken of the other 58% the average falls to a little under 5 hours.

These figures of course are based entirely on the replies given by our informants. These may well be somewhat less accurate than the returns given by employers for the annual New Earnings Survey (NES). It would be wrong to think that the earnings and hours data here could be used to correct existing official statistics. The question is rather whether the survey's data themselves are sufficiently accurate for the purpose for which they were designed—namely to throw light on the causes and consequences of labour mobility.

Viewed from this point of view a comparison with the 1979 New Earnings Survey is reassuring. The data for that survey were collected at about the same time of year as those for our own survey and also refer to earnings and hours for one particular week. The NES found that 1.2% of men with full-time manual jobs as employees in the construction industry earned less than £50, 36.3% earned less than £75 and 71.3% earned less than £100 while their average earnings for the week were £91.20. The corresponding figures for our own survey, given in the first column of Table 8.1 are 3%, 44%, and 78%, with average earnings for the week working out at £85.50.

The NES gives mean hours of 46.5 for this group, with mean overtime averaged over the whole group coming to 6.0 hours. Table 8.2 shows that the comparable figures for our own sample are 45.2 hours and 4.5 hours respectively. As in the case of earnings, our own figures are somewhat below those given by the NES.

Some of the apparent discrepancy, in both cases, is due to the fact that the NES figures quoted exclude workers whose pay for the week in question was affected by absence, whereas our own figures include them. Overall there seems little reason to doubt that our own figures are sufficiently accurate to serve as a basis for valid conclusions about the relationship of pay and hours to mobility.

Table 8.1 Gross wage in week before interview, overall and by craft group*

	Total	Carpenters and joiners	Bricklayers	Electricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mechanical equipment operators	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders and steelfixers	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Percentage of those answering with gross pay last week:												
Less than £50	3	3	0	1	4	2	3	0	0	6	6	4
£50 to £59	9	8	8	1	5	12	3	8	0	10	21	7
£60 to £69	20	23	19	4	15	33	10	21	3	21	27	19
£70 to £79	21	16	31	22	21	19	17	23	10	21	15	33
£80 to £89	15	13	9	26	21	19	8	21	16	18	9	7
£90 to £99	10	9	9	9	19	7	15	10	16	6	10	11
£100 to £109	6	10	7	9	1	4	11	10	16	5	2	8
£110 to £119	4	4	5	6	5	0	10	0	3	3	2	3
£120 to £129	4	5	2	9	2	1	11	3	6	4	2	5
£130+	8	9	9	13	7	2	13	5	29	6	6	2
Less than £75	44	44	48	17	41	58	24	41	6	47	61	52
Less than £100	78	71	76	64	85	93	56	82	45	82	88	81
Mean wage of those Answering (£)	85.5	86.1	87.2	100.6	84.2	74.5	104.1	81.3	118.7	81.4	76.3	79.8
Base (total answering	*979*	*118*	*85*	*69*	*85*	*84*	*72*	*39*	*31*	*168*	*131*	*97*
Total not answering	*44*	*7*	*4*	*3*	*3*	*4*	*4*	*2*	*0*	*7*	*6*	*4*

Table 8.2 Hours worked in week before interview, overall and by craft group*

	Total	Carpenters and joiners	Bricklayers	Electricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mechanical equipment operators	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders and steelfixers	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations
Mean hours worked last week	45.2	43.3	42.9	46.5	44.3	42.5	50.6	41.8	47.1	45.2	46.2	47.6
Percentage working overtime last week	46%	42%	33%	61%	43%	30%	78%	24%	55%	45%	42%	54%
Mean hours overtime for those working overtime	9.8	6.8	8.4	9.9	9.3	7.4	12.3	8.4	12.5	9.6	11.4	10.1
Mean hours overtime overall	4.5	2.9	2.7	6.1	4.0	2.2	9.5	2.0	6.9	4.3	4.8	5.5
Base	*1023*	*125*	*89*	*72*	*88*	*88*	*76*	*41*	*31*	*175*	*137*	*101*

* Tables relate to current manual construction employees aged 21+ who usually work 31 or more hours a week

9 Hours, earnings and mobility

The tables in this chapter like those in Chapter 8, are restricted to the 1,023 informants who are aged 21 or over and at the time of interview had a full-time manual employee job. The under 21s are excluded since they were not in the labour market for all of the 5 year period January 1974 to December 1978, and because their mobility unlike that of other age-groups is influenced by the fact that a large proportion of them are apprentices. The self-employed have been excluded since their conditions and mobility patterns differ substantially from those of employees. Those without a current job have been left out because the figures for their pay might relate to previous years when rates were lower, and might also be affected by memory problems and by unusual payments made in the last week of work.

It appears that a man's past rate of mobility between employers has little relationship to his current working hours. Table 9.1 shows that the distribution of hours worked differs little by whether the informant had one job only in the 5-year period, 2 jobs, 3 or 4 jobs, or 5 or more jobs. A difference which may have some meaning is in the proportion working 46 hours or more. The figures is 36% overall, but only 32% for those who had one job only, compared with 38%, 39% and 39% again for those with 2 jobs, 3 or 4 jobs, and 5 or more jobs respectively. This suggests that changing jobs at all may be slightly associated with a tendency to seek out jobs offering opportunities of substantial overtime work. However it is possible that this apparent association is purely a chance effect.

However, Table 9.2 shows a definite association between current gross pay and the number of jobs held in the period 1974–1978. Mean pay rises from £80.30 for those who had only one job to £95 for those with 5 or more jobs. The proportion earning £95 or more rises from 21% amongst those who did not change jobs to 38% for the most mobile group. The strength of this association between pay and job mobility should not be exaggerated as there is a very wide spread of earnings for each level of mobility shown in the table. Even among the most mobile 18% earned less than £65.

Tables 9.3 and 9.4 suggest that the association between pay and job mobility, such as it is, can be explained to a very large extent by the existence of a group of workers who occasionally change employers in search of higher monetary rewards. The tables are based on informants' replies to the question, *"What, do you recall, was your main reason for leaving this job?"* which was asked for all the previous jobs which each informant had held within the period 1974 to 1978.

Table 9.1 Hours worked in week before interview by number of jobs held between January 1974 and December 1978*

	Number of jobs held				
	Total	1	2	3 or 4	5 or more
	%	%	%	%	%
Percentage of those answering who in the previous week had worked:					
Less than 40 hours	6	5	6	6	7
40 hours	37	39	33	36	37
41 to 45 hours	22	24	23	19	18
46 to 50 hours	18	17	18	17	21
51 hours or more	18	15	20	22	18
	100	100	100	100	100
Mean hours worked last week by those answering	45.2	44.5	45.6	46.0	45.9
Base (total answering)	*1017*	*433*	*187*	*239*	*158*
Total not answering	*6*	*4*	*1*	*1*	*0*

* See note at foot of Table 8.2

Table 9.2 Gross pay in week before interview by number of jobs held between January 1974 and December 1978*

	Number of jobs held				
	Total	1	2	3 or 4	5 or more
	%	%	%	%	%
Percentage of those answering with gross pay last week:					
Less than £65	22	25	19	21	18
£65 to £74	22	26	23	20	17
£75 to £94	29	28	30	29	27
£95+	27	21	28	30	38
	100	100	100	100	100
Mean pay last week of those answering (£s)	85.5	80.3	87.2	87.3	95.0
Base (total answering)	*979*	*417*	*178*	*234*	*150*
Total not answering	*44*	*20*	*10*	*6*	*8*

* See note at foot of Table 8.2

Table 9.3 shows that, of the 979 workers giving details of their pay, 750 (77%) had either not moved at all or, if they had moved, had not named dissatisfaction with their pay as the main reason for any of their moves. These 750 workers earned an average of £81.80 in the week before interview, compared with £98.30 for the 159 workers who had moved once to improve their pay

Table 9.3 Gross pay in week before interview by number of times left a job because of dissatisfaction with pay between January 1974 and December 1978*

	Total	Never moved because of dissatisfaction with pay	Move once because of dissatisfaction with pay	Moved twice or more because of dissatisfaction with pay
	%	%	%	%
Percentage of those answering with gross pay last week:				
Less than £65	22	25	11	16
£65 to £74	22	24	19	16
£75 to £94	29	29	28	29
£95+	27	23	42	40
	100	100	100	100
Mean pay last week of those answering (£s)	85.5	81.8	98.3	95.6
Base (total answering)	*979*	*750*	*159*	*70*
Total not answering	*44*	*34*	*5*	*5*

* See note at foot of Table 8.2

Table 9.4 Mean gross pay in week before interview by number of jobs held and by number of times left a job because of dissatisfaction with pay between January 1974 and December 1978*

	Number of jobs held				
	Total	1	2	3 or 4	5+
Number of moves because of pay dissatisfaction:					
None:					
Mean pay (£s)	81.8	80.3	83.9	84.1	82.1
Base	*750*	*417*	*137*	*146*	*50*
One or more:					
Mean pay (£s)	97.6	..	98.2	92.6	101.5
Base	*229*		*41*	*88*	*100*
Total:					
Mean pay (£s)	85.5	80.3	87.2	87.3	95.0
Base	*979*	*417*	*178*	*234*	*150*

* See note at foot of Table 8.2. The 44 individuals who did not give their pay are excluded from this table.

and £95.60 for the 70 workers (7%) who had moved twice or more in search of better money. It is interesting to note that what seems to count here is the willingness to leave a job at all in search of better money. Those who repeated the move were no more highly paid than those making only one such move.

The first row of Table 9.4 shows that amongst informants who never changed jobs to improve their pay during the 5 year period the mean pay of the more mobile groups is almost the same as the mean pay of those who never changed jobs at all. This suggests that mobility between employers has little relation to pay once those workers who move between employers for the specific purpose of improving their pay are removed from the sample.

Table 9.5 is based on replies to the question *"Do you feel that you generally have a free choice of the kind of job you can get, or do you usually have to take whatever job is going?"* A comparison of the first and second rows shows that the relationship between mean pay and mobility is considerably stronger amongst those who feel they have a free choice of jobs than amongst those who feel they must accept whatever job is going. This reinforces the earlier conclusion that the association between pay and mobility is in the main the outcome of deliberate choices. However it also shows that over half the sample did not believe they were in a position to exercise such choice.

Table 9.5 Mean gross pay in week before interview by number of jobs held between January 1974 and December 1978 and by whether informants feel they have a free choice of the kind of job they can get*

		Number of jobs held				
		Total	1	2	3 or 4	5+
Informants who feel they generally have a free choice of the kind of job they can get	Mean pay (£s)	91.9	83.2	93.1	95.0	103.4
	Base	*398*	*141*	*84*	*104*	*69*
Informants who usually have to take whatever job is going	Mean pay (£s)	80.8	78.5	81.1	81.0	87.6
	Base	*514*	*238*	*83*	*118*	*75*
Informants not choosing either statement	Mean pay (£s)	86.1	82.9	90.4	86.7	97.0
	Base	*56*	*32*	*10*	*9*	*5*
No answer	*Base*	*11*	*6*	*1*	*3*	*1*
Total	Mean pay (£s)	85.5	80.3	87.2	87.3	95.0
	Base	*979*	*417*	*178*	*234*	*150*

The number of workers contributing to each cell is given beneath the figure for the average pay.
* See note at foot of Table 8.2. The 44 individuals who did not give their pay are excluded from this table.

Table 9.6 Mean gross pay in week before interview by number of jobs held between January 1974 and December 1978 and by craft group*

Craft group		Number of jobs held				
		Total	1	2	3 or 4	5+
Carpenters and joiners	Mean pay (£s)	86.1	80.9	82.2	85.9	99.4
	Base	*118*	*38*	*25*	*32*	*23*
Bricklayers	Mean pay (£s)	87.2	74.4	93.6	82.9	104.9
	Base	*85*	*29*	*14*	*21*	*21*
Electricians	Mean pay (£s)	100.6	92.3	92.6	136.0	97.7
	Base	*69*	*35*	*14*	*12*	*8*
Plumbers	Mean pay (£s)	84.2	81.3	89.6	89.7	76.2
	Base	*85*	*39*	*13*	*23*	*10*
Painters	Mean pay (£s)	74.5	73.9	82.0	66.3	81.6
	Base	*84*	*38*	*19*	*20*	*7*
Mechanical equipment operators	Mean pay (£s)	104.1	110.5	108.2	93.0	102.3
	Base	*72*	*33*	*11*	*22*	*6*
Plasterers	Mean pay (£s)	81.3	78.8	89.0	83.6	79.8
	Base	*39*	*21*	*6*	*7*	*5*
Scaffolders and steel-fixers	Mean pay (£s)	118.7	..	108.3	103.9	132.5
	Base	*31*	*2*	*7*	*9*	*13*
Other construction skills	Mean pay (£s)	81.4	74.9	90.5	87.4	88.1
	Base	*168*	*88*	*28*	*33*	*19*
Labourers and mates	Mean pay (£s)	76.3	68.3	72.6	81.8	86.1
	Base	*131*	*48*	*21*	*35*	*27*
Drivers and miscellaneous occupations	Mean pay (£s)	79.8	78.8	80.0	79.8	83.5
	Base	*97*	*46*	*20*	*20*	*11*
Total	Mean pay (£s)	85.5	80.3	87.2	87.3	95.0
	Base	*979*	*417*	*178*	*234*	*150*

* Current manual construction employees aged 21+ who usually work 31 or more hours a week. The 44 individuals who did not give their pay are excluded from this table.

Table 9.6 examines the relationship between mean pay and mobility for each craft group. As the numbers in each cell are fairly small it is possible that the apparent relationship, or lack of it, may in some cases be misleading. This said, the association between higher pay and greater mobility seems to hold for carpenters, bricklayers, electricians, scaffolders, other construction skills and labourers and mates. It seems absent or doubtful amongst plumbers, painters, plasterers and drivers and miscellaneous occupations. Among plant operatives the stable appear, if anything, to be the highest earners.

Table 9.7 looks at the effect of age on the relationship between mobility and mean pay. The total column gives the mean earnings for each age-group. These are higher in the mobile younger groups than among the generally less mobility-prone older workers. The rows of the table show how earnings vary with mobility for each age-group separately. It can be seen that the relationship between mobility and mean earnings in the 21–30 age-group is very similar to the overall relationship but that pay and mobility do not appear to be associated in any simple way among men aged 31–40. The numbers of mobile workers in the age-groups over forty are too small for clear results to emerge.

Table 9.7 Mean gross pay in week before interview by number of jobs held between January 1974 and December 1978 and by age*

Age group		Number of jobs held				
		Total	1	2	3 or 4	5+
21–30	Mean pay (£s)	86.1	78.2	82.2	89.6	95.8
	Base	*298*	*94*	*51*	*89*	*64*
31–40	Mean pay (£s)	93.9	93.5	99.9	93.4	89.2
	Base	*277*	*93*	*55*	*77*	*52*
41–50	Mean pay (£s)	85.1	83.0	84.3	82.1	102.2
	Base	*169*	*81*	*34*	*36*	*18*
51–60	Mean pay (£s)	77.1	74.4	78.4	70.7	107.6
	Base	*178*	*104*	*32*	*28*	*14*
61+	Mean pay (£s)	68.5	66.4	77.3	..	..
	*Base**	*57*	*45*	*6*	*4*	*2*
Total	Mean pay (£s)	85.5	80.3	87.2	87.3	95.0
	*Base**	*979*	*417*	*178*	*234*	*150*

* Current manual construction employees aged 21+ who usually work 31 or more hours a week. The 44 individuals who did not give their pay are excluded from this table. No mean is given for cells containing fewer than 5 individuals.

10 The main divisions of the labour market

How the market is divided

So far our discussion of job mobility has focused on the frequency with which individuals change jobs. This section will look at the kind of changes they make, in particular at whether individual workers range over the whole field of construction work or whether they tend to stick to a particular skill or one type of employer.

The tables in this section refer to men who when they were interviewed were 21 or over and were current or unemployed full-time manual construction employees. The patterns of mobility described therefore relate specifically to this group of workers. Tables include, except where there are specific statements to the contrary, some previous jobs in which an individual was self-employed, not doing manual work, or working in a different industry. Inevitably they exclude movements into and out of construction jobs by men who are no longer actual or unemployed construction employees.

The tables in this section which deal specifically with mobility patterns cover all changes of job between January 1974 and the date of interview in spring 1979. In this they differ slightly from previous tables in this report which have ignored moves after the end of 1978. However, a more important difference is the way in which the tables relating to mobility are presented in this section. The unit of analysis is not the individual worker but the move between two jobs. This enables us to pick out patterns of movement by relating information about the jobs that were left to what we know about the jobs that were subsequently taken up. Where the focus of interest is not on patterns of mobility but on the characteristics of different segments of the labour force, the tables relate, as usual, to individual workers. The heading of each table indicates whether it refers to moves between jobs or to individual workers.

The diagonal line of framed figures in Table 10.1 gives, as a percentage of all moves from jobs in each craft group, the number of moves made to a job working in the same craft group. The proportion of moves in which the operative keeps within the same craft group runs at over 85% for most of the main skilled craft groups, exceptions being painters (79%), plasterers (75%) and mechanical equipment operators (58%). This high level of craft constraint is, of course, a natural consequence of the degree of specialised training and experience possessed by the different groups of craft workers. Table 10.2 shows that amongst men working at crafts, such as carpenter, bricklayer or electrician, where training is usually by apprenticeship, workers who have completed apprenticeships are a good deal more likely to stick to their craft when they change jobs than workers who have not.

When we turn to look at patterns of mobility between different types of employer the picture is rather less clear-cut. Table 10.3 shows the proportions of moves from private and public sector construction employers in which the job moved to was in the same sector. The number of moves covered by the table is smaller than

Table 10.1 Craft of job moved to by craft of job moved from: job changes* between 1st January 1974 and date of interview

Crafts of job moved to	Craft of job moved from										
	Carpenter and joiner	Bricklayer	Electrician	Plumber	Painter	Mechanical equipment operator	Plasterer and tiler	Scaffolder and steel-fixer	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Driver and miscellaneous occupations
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Carpenter or joiner	[93]	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	4	0	4
Bricklayer	0	[87]	0	1	0	0	2	0	7	2	4
Electrician	0	0	[86]	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Plumber	0	0	1	[87]	0	3	0	0	1	2	3
Painter	0		0	0	[79]	2	3	1	2	4	5
Mechanical equipment operator	0	0	1	1	0	[58]	3	1	4	2	7
Plasterer and tiler	0	0	0	0	1	2	[75]	0	2	1	1
Scaffolder and steel-fixer	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	[85]	2	1	2
Other construction skills	2	6	1	2	2	8	10	2	[53]	15	13
Labourer and mate	1	1	7	4	6	7	3	6	16	[55]	19
Driver and miscellaneous occupation	1	5	4	5	11	16	2	4	9	16	[40]
Base (Jobs left)	*282*	*206*	*111*	*139*	*140*	*115*	*61*	*103*	*248*	*279*	*366*

*By men who when interviewed were current or unemployed full-time manual construction employees aged 21 or over

Table 10.2 Percentage of jobs left in each craft group when next job was in the same craft group, by whether individual completed an apprenticeship*

Apprenticeship		Craft group										
		Carpenters and joiners	Bricklayers	Electricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mechanical equipment operators	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders and steelfixers	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations
Completed	%	96	92	93	87	85	25	81	67	55	7	33
Base (Jobs left)		*216*	*129*	*85*	*95*	*54*	*8*	*31*	*6*	*60*	*15*	*49*
Not completed	%	82	79	65	86	76	61	70	87	53	58	42
Base (Jobs left)		*66*	*77*	*26*	*44*	*86*	*107*	*30*	*97*	*188*	*264*	*317*

* Table relates to job changes in the period 1 January 1974 to date of interview by men who, when interviewed, were current or unemployed full-time manual construction employees aged 21 or over.

the number covered by Tables 10.1 and 10.2 since it excludes moves to or from self-employment or non-construction work. As far as can be judged from the small numbers in the table, public sector workers are four times as likely as private sector workers to find their next job in the public sector, but even so 80% of the public sector workers who remain construction employees in their new jobs do so by going to work for private employers.

Table 10.3 Sector moved to by sector moved from: Moves* between construction jobs in the period 1st January 1974 to date of interview

Sector moved to	Sector moved from	
	Private	Public
	%	%
Private	95	80
Public	5	20
Base (Jobs left)	*1259*	*50*

*By men who when interviewed were current or unemployed full-time manual construction employees aged 21 or over

Thus if we look only at the proportion of movers who stick to the same sector there seems little to suggest any real separation between the potential labour forces of the two sectors. However if we look at absolute numbers the picture changes. The 5% of moves from private employers which were made to public employers represent 65 changes of jobs, while the 80% of moves from public employers which were made to private employers represent only 40 job changes. It looks as though there may be considerably larger flow of workers from private construction employers than there is in the opposite direction. This suggests that many of the workers who move to public employers either remain in the public sector until retirement or subsequently leave the industry (and therefore our sample) altogether. Under the circumstances it seems reasonable to talk of a partial separation between the labour forces of the two sectors.

Table 10.4 relates to job changes taking place within the private sector. Looking at the framed figures along the diagonal it can be seen that there is a pronounced tendency for men to find work with employers whose specialisms are the same as those they have just left. One would expect this to happen to some extent since, as we have seen, men tend to stick to one craft and particular crafts are much more used in some types of construction work than in others. For instance Table 10.5 shows that 68% of electricians in the private sector work for

Table 10.4 Specialism of employer moved to by specialism of employer moved from: moves* between private sector construction companies in the period 1st January 1974 to date of interview

Specialism of employer moved to	Specialism of employer moved from								
	General building	Civil engineering†	Plumbing etc	Painting, plastering etc	Scaffolding, structural engineering	Electrical contracting	Plant hire	Carpentry, roofing etc	Other and unknown
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
General building	[63]	29	14	25	10	2	0	46	34
Civil engineering†	18	[53]	3	4	21	0	15	7	15
Plumbing etc.	2	1	[71]	0	0	2	0	0	6
Painting, plastering etc	4	0	0	[65]	0	0	0	0	2
Scaffolding, structural engineering	1	3	0	0	[57]	0	4	0	4
Electrical contracting	1	0	2	0	0	[82]	4	4	4
Plant hire	0	2	2	0	2	0	[56]	0	1
Carpentry, roofing etc	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	[32]	2
Other and unknown	8	9	8	6	10	14	22	11	[34]
Base (Jobs left)+	*482*	*291*	*59*	*80*	*42*	*51*	*27*	*28*	*107*

*By men who when interviewed were current or unemployed full-time manual construction employees aged 21 or over
†For the purposes of the tables in this chapter, general contracting firms which undertake both building and civil engineering work have been classified as civil engineering firms
+ Excludes 27 moves for which information not recorded

electrical contracting firms and 53% of painters work for specialist painting firms. Since most of the jobs for these craftsmen are in one group of specialist firms it is not surprising that they keep to the same kind of employer when changing jobs.

The question that arises next is whether this preference for jobs using the same craft skills is enough by itself to account for the tendency to stick to the same kind of employer. If it were the only factor involved, a carpenter leaving a general building firm would be just as likely to take a job with a specialist carpentry firm as would a carpenter whose previous job had been with another specialist firm. If we also assume that all employees stick to the same craft when moving between private sector construction employers (a reasonable simplification as Table 10.6 shows), it is possible to estimate the percentage of moves from an employer of any type where the next job would be expected to be with another employer of the same type. In order to do this we first multiply the number of times men in each craft group left employers of the type in question by the proportion of new jobs in the craft group which were taken up with employers of that type. The results give the number of times men in each of the eleven craft groups could be expected to move to another employer of the same type. Totalling these figures, and expressing the sum as a percentage of all moves from companies of that kind, gives the overall percentage of movers who would be expected to remain in that segment of the industry. Table 10.7 compares expected percentages calculated in this way for each employer specialism with the actual percentages of movers going to companies within the same areas of specialisation as the companies they left.

Table 10.7 shows that actual percentages of movers sticking to employers in the same specialisms are considerably higher than the 'expected' percentages. This suggests that the tendency to stick to employers within a given specialism is not merely the result of men sticking to jobs in the same broad craft group. One additional factor might be craft specialisms of very specific kinds not picked up by our classification of workers into eleven craft groups. Others might be preference for a particular type of work or a tendency to hear on the 'grapevine' of jobs with similar firms more often than of jobs provided by different types of employer.

Table 10.5 Specialism of employer by craft group

Specialism of employer	Craft group										
	Carpenter and joiners	Bricklayers	Electricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mechanical equipment operators	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders and steel-fixers	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
General building	70	75	2	21	39	8	40	3	35	49	26
Civil engineering	17	21	7	1	3	41	6	23	32	24	26
Plumbing etc	0	0	0	64	0	0	0	3	0	4	1
Painting, plastering etc	0	0	0	0	53	0	29	0	2	2	1
Scaffolding, structural engineering	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	61	0	0	1
Electrical contracting	0	0	68	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	0
Plant hire	0	0	0	0	0	29	0	0	0	0	8
Carpentry, roofing etc	9	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	2	2	1
Other and unknown	4	4	22	12	3	21	17	10	29	18	34
*Base**	*103*	*72*	*60*	*67*	*64*	*66*	*35*	*31*	*117*	*114*	*76*

*Full-time manual workers aged 21 or over employed by private sector construction companies at time of interview. Excludes 10 individuals for whom information not recorded.

Table 10.6 Percentage of moves* in which the movers kept to the same craft

	Craft of job moved from										
	Carpenters and joiners	Bricklayers	Electricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mechanical equipment operators	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders and steel-fixers	Other construction skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscellaneous occupations
Percentage sticking to same craft	97%	91%	95%	94%	89%	72%	89%	87%	63%	64%	40%
Base† (Jobs left)	*200*	*158*	*60*	*83*	*88*	*72*	*45*	*86*	*162*	*168*	*45*

*Moves between private sector construction companies in the period 1 January 1974 to date of interview by men who, when interviewed, were current or unemployed full-time manual construction employees aged 21 or over.
†Excludes 27 moves for which information not recorded.

Table 10.7 Expected* and actual percentages of moves between private sector construction employers which are between firms with the same specialism

		Specialism of employer left								
		General building	Civil engineering	Plumbing etc	Painting, plastering etc	Scaffolding, structural engineering	Electrical contracting	Plant hire	Carpentry, roofing etc	Other and unknown
Expected*	%	52	32	56	48	38	79	34	6	12
Actual (from Table 10.4)	%	63	53	71	65	57	82	56	32	34

*As explained in text

Table 10.8 Moves* between specialist firms and general building and civil engineering firms in the private sector in the period 1 January 1974 to date of interview

	Type of specialist employer						
	Plumbing etc	Painting, plastering etc	Scaffolding, structural engineering	Electrical contracting	Plant hire	Carpentry, roofing etc	Other and unknown
Moves to general building firms							
%	14%	25%	10%	2%	0%	46%	34%
Base†	*59*	*80*	*42*	*51*	*27*	*28*	*107*
Moves from general building firms							
%	16%	24%	13%	11%	7%	46%	29%
Base‡	*63*	*72*	*45*	*55*	*27*	*26*	*129*
Moves to civil engineering firms							
%	3%	4%	21%	0%	15%	7%	15%
Base†	*59*	*80*	*42*	*51*	*27*	*28*	*107*
Moves from civil engineering firms							
%	6%	1%	22%	0%	26%	12%	20%
Base‡	*63*	*72*	*45*	*55*	*27*	*26*	*129*

*By men who, when interviewed, were current or unemployed full-time manual construction employees aged 21 or over.
†All moves to private sector construction companies from firms in the specialism concerned.
‡All moves from private sector construction companies to firms in the specialism concerned.

The nine employer specialisms that we have been considering are not of course totally unrelated. In particular general building firms and civil engineering firms between them employ the great bulk of private sector employees, and it is useful when analysing the labour market to make a distinction between those specialisms which—because of the type of work undertaken and the skills used—are most closely related to general building and those which on the other hand are more closely related to civil engineering. This grouping is reflected in the movement of operatives between different types of employer. For instance, as Table 10.4 shows, 25% of workers leaving painting and plastering firms went to work for general building firms while only 4% went to firms doing civil engineering. Conversely 21% of scaffolding and structural engineering employees went to civil engineering firms and only 10% to general builders.

Table 10.8 combines this information from Table 10.4 with figures giving the percentages of moves to each of the seven more specialist groups which were made from general building and civil engineering firms respectively. (Like Table 10.4, Table 10.8 refers only to moves between private sector construction firms.) In other words Table 10.8 shows the flow of workers between each of the seven specialised groups of employers on the one hand and the general building firms and civil engineering firms on the other. The picture which emerges is remarkably clear. Firms doing scaffolding work or structural engineering, and plant hire firms exchange their workers predominantly with civil engineering firms. All other groups of specialist firms appear to share their labour force far more with the general builders—with the partial exception of electrical contractors whose labour force seems largely separate from that of generalist firms.

Features of the different parts of the labour market

Table 10.9 looks at whether the partial separation of the labour forces of private and public employers is reflected in differences between the kind of workers employed in the two sectors or between their levels of earnings or mobility. The two groups of workers are very similar in levels of skill. However the public sector employs a higher proportion of older workers, the percentage of public sector workers aged 51 or over is

Table 10.9 Comparison of the labour forces of private and public sector construction organisations: characteristics of full-time manual employees aged 21 or over

	Private sector	Public sector
Mean pay last week (£'s)	88.9	72.5
Mean length of jobs so far (months)*	55	105
Percentage of jobs which have already lasted five years or more*	28%	57%
Percentage classed by employer as:	%	%
Skilled	65	62
Semi-skilled	23	20
Unskilled	12	18
	100	100
Percentage who had completed apprenticeship	36%	34%
Mean age	38.3	43.3
Percentage aged 51 or over	21%	38%
Base (Men in sector)	*815*	*208*

*Excludes 109 individuals who did not give length of job. There was also a smaller amount of non-response to some of the other items in the table.

nearly twice as high as the percentage of private sector workers in this age bracket.

The mean earnings of private sector employees are somewhat higher than earnings of men employed in the public sector. However the most striking difference between the two groups relates, as Chapter 5 of this report would lead one to expect, to the amount of time they spend working for one employer. Of the men who are able to give the length of time they had been with their current employer, over half the public sector workers had held their jobs for longer than five years compared with a little more than a quarter of the private sector employees. The mean length of time so far spent working for their current employers was four and a half years for private sector workers but eight and a half years for men employed in the public sector.

Table 10.10 takes the different types of private sector employers and shows the extent to which the separation of their potential workforces is accompanied by differences in the characteristics and circumstances of their employees. The distinction made earlier between those groups of employers whose workers look to general builders for alternative employment and those employers whose workers could move more easily to civil engineering firms is relevant here. Thus, looking at the first line of the table, we see that mean weekly earnings were £17 a week higher in civil engineering firms than in general building firms, while the earnings of men working for scaffolding, structural engineering and plant hire firms (whose workers move more readily to civil engineering companies) are very much higher than those of men employed by plumbing, painting, plastering and carpentry firms (whose workers would be more likely to move to general building companies).

The other general feature of the first row of the table is that earnings in the specialist firms appear generally to be higher than in the type of generalist firm with which that specialism exchanges labour. Thus employees of scaffolding and plant hire firms earn considerably more than employees of generalist civil engineering companies, and there is a similar though less marked difference between the earnings that are obtained in plumbing or carpentry firms and those obtained by the employees of general builders. This difference might reflect the tendency, shown in the fourth row of the table, for specialist firms to employ a higher proportion of workers whom they class as skilled than do the corresponding generalist firms.

The difference between the earnings of men employed by firms in civil engineering and related specialisms on the one hand and those of men employed by general builders and firms in specialisms related to general building on the other cannot, however, be explained in this way. The seventh line of Table 10.10 shows that only 19% of men working for civil engineering firms, 14% of those in scaffolding or structural engineering companies and none of the sampled individuals working for plant hire firms had completed apprenticeships. In contrast 40% of the men working for general builders, and still more of the men working for plumbing, painting or plastering firms were qualified craftsmen. As one would expect, given that training in civil engineering occupations is often not given by apprenticeship, the figures given in the fourth line of the table for the proportions of men classified as skilled by building type employers and civil engineering type employers respectively do not present such a marked contrast. Nonetheless the same pattern emerges. In other words the comparatively highly earning workforce of civil engineering type firms includes fewer formally trained men than the less highly earning workforce of firms in areas related to general building.

The second and third lines of the table relate to the length of time workers in the different kinds of private construction firms had worked for their present employer. If we look at specialist firms only, there appears to be a marked difference between workers for

Table 10.10 Comparison of labour forces of different types of employer within the private sector of construction: characteristics of full-time manual employees aged 21 or over

	Specialism of employer								
	General building	Civil engineering	Plumbing etc	Painting, plastering etc	Scaffolding, structural engineering	Electrical contracting	Plant hire	Carpentry, roofing etc	Other and unknown
Mean pay last week (£s)	78.8	96.1	87.3	76.2	109.0	102.4	117.3	89.4	95.2
Mean length of job so far (months)*	55	50	62	76	22	51	39	44	57
Percentage of jobs which have already lasted five years or more	29%	23%	38%	38%	9%	41%	17%	23%	30%
Percentage classed by employer as:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Skilled	69	46	86	87	64	98	58	71	53
Semi-skilled	17	39	8	11	36	2	29	18	32
Unskilled	13	14	6	2	0	0	12	12	15
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Percentage who had completed apprenticeship	40%	19%	60%	51%	14%	82%	0%	41%	26%
Mean age	38.5	41.6	36.7	41.2	34.3	30.4	36.9	35.1	36.9
Base (men working for each type of employer)†	*303*	*161*	*50*	*49*	*22*	*45*	*25*	*17*	*133*

*Excludes 81 individuals who did not give length of job. There was also a small amount of non-response to some of the other items in the table.
†Excludes 10 individuals for whom employer specialism not recorded.

firms in civil engineering related specialisms (on average 22 months worked so far for scaffolding and structural engineering firms and 39 months for plant hire firms) and men working for firms in specialisms related to general building (62 months for plumbing firms and 76 for painting and plastering firms). However the difference virtually disappears when we look at generalist firms. In civil engineering men had worked an average of 50 months so far for their firms, only five months less than the average length of employment so far in general building.

The divisions of the labour market between private and public sector employers and within the private sector between employers specialising in different types of work are the only divisions which the data collected in this survey permits us to investigate directly. This is because the only information collected about past employers was their specialism and whether they were private firms or public sector organisations. Because of this we cannot tell whether, for instance, workers for large companies tend to move to other large companies when they change jobs. So there may well be important divisions of the labour market which this survey can only infer from related evidence.

Table 10.11 suggests that one such division which may well be important is that between purely local enterprises and enterprises which operate regionally or nationally. The geographical range of the employer is clearly related to both labour turnover and average earnings. Indeed, a comparison of the first *row* of Table 10.11 with the second *column* of table 10.9 shows that the mean earnings in local private firms are very close indeed to those of men working for local authority construction departments (the employers of the great majority of public sector workers), while the stability of the labour force of local private firms (reflected by the proportion of workers who have been with the employer for five years or more) though a great deal less than the level of stability in local authority employment is nonetheless markedly higher than the five year stability level in those private companies which operate regionally or nationally. This suggests that the differences we have up to now attributed to a division between the public and private sectors may be part of a wider distinction between local and national employers.

Table 10.11 Earnings and length of time worked for current employer by geographical range of employer

Employer works:	Percentage of employees who had worked for five years or more for current employer†	Mean weekly earnings (£s)†	*Base**
Locally	42%	74.5	*130*
Up to 50 miles away	29%	80.9	*223*
Up to 150 miles away	30%	88.2	*135*
Anywhere in Britain	22%	100.6	*310*

*Full-time manual employees aged 21 or over of private construction companies. Excludes 17 individuals for whom employer range not available.

†Figures slightly affected by non-response, see footnote to Table 10.10.

The same distinction may underlie some of the differences between the workforces of different parts of the private sector. Unfortunately our data does not allow us to see whether there is a tendency for men to keep to either local or national firms when they change jobs.

Whether or not the differences between the private and public sectors shown in Table 10.9 result from differences between local and national employers they raise an interesting question about the motivation of public sector workers. As a group they do not appear significantly less skilled than private sector workers, so why are they willing to take jobs in a sector where earnings are considerably lower? Table 10.12 relates to all construction enterprise jobs which were started by men in the current workforce during the period covered by the survey and shows, for the public and private sectors separately, what our informants said were their main reasons for accepting the job. Not surprisingly it was much less common for a public sector job to be chosen because of the prospect of high earnings than was the case for private sector jobs. Public sector jobs were also much less likely to be chosen because they were thought to be the only work available. This is consistent with the finding of Table 10.9 that public sector workers do in general have the skill level needed for private sector work.

Table 10.12 Main reason given for taking jobs with private and public sector construction enterprises

Reason given	Private sector	Public sector
	%	%
Only available work	40	26
Money	30	13
Job security	3	21
Wanted to work outside	1	8
Other	26	32
Base (Jobs moved to)*	*1593*	*119*

*All moves to construction enterprises between 1st January 1974 and date of interview by men who when interviewed were current or unemployed full-time manual construction employees aged 21 or over

A good part of the explanation of public sector employees' willingness to work in a sector with comparatively low earnings is given by the third row of Table 10.12. Job security was the main reason for 21% of the acceptances of public sector jobs. It hardly counts at all as a reason for taking private sector jobs. The final two rows of the table show that less directly economic reasons were also more important in the case of public sector jobs than in the case of work for private firms. The fourth line is particularly interesting. It shows that 8% of moves to public sector construction jobs were made because the mover wanted to work in the open air. This suggests recruitment from outside the industry altogether with the result that the men concerned would not take outdoor work for granted.

Table 10.13 shows that recruitment from outside the industry is indeed more common in the case of public

Table 10.13 **Whether or not last job was in construction by whether new construction job is in private or public sector**

Previous job	New construction job	
	Private sector	Public sector
	%	%
Construction	78	63
Not Construction	22	37
Base (Jobs moved to)*	*1593*	*119*

*As in Table 10.12.

authorities (who draw more than a third of their labour force from outside the industry) than it is with private firms. This is consistent with the conclusion reached earlier in the present section that the labour markets for private sector and public sector construction are partly distinct from each other. It appears that work for local authorities (and possibly other purely local construction employers?) may constitute a kind of halfway house between the construction industry proper and other work.

11 Attitudes and mobility

The interview included several series of questions about men's attitudes to mobility. Our purpose was to investigate the relationship:

(a) between men's actual mobility and their attitudes towards mobility and

(b) between their mobility and their satisfaction with various aspects of work in the construction industry, especially their satisfaction with their security of employment.

The fundamental question to be considered in this section is whether or not there is a 'pro-mobility subculture' among men which facilitates and encourages mobility. One key to this understanding is the extent to which men appear to be behaving in ways that are congruent with their hopes and preferences. If we find that mobile men like mobility apparently for its own sake and that stable men stay in one job because that is what they prefer, then mobility is less of a problem—subjectively at least—than if men with a preference for stability were always having to move on or if men wanting to move on could not do so.

The following analysis is based on the 1414 men in the current workforce that is current employees plus those whose last job was in construction and are now unemployed and looking for work.

Men's attitudes

Men were asked to agree or disagree with a series of attitude statements about work and mobility (Q 37). Table 11.1 shows the extent of men's agreement with each statement.

It is immediately striking that to a considerable extent majorities of men seem prepared to agree with statements that, at least on the face of it, seem contradictory. On the one hand most agree that *"If he can, a man should be loyal to one employer"* and that *"If you can, it's wise to stick to a job right up to the end."* On the other hand most also agree that *"To keep your earnings up, you should move on to another job before a site is wound up"*, that *"You've got to be prepared to move around from one boss to another in this trade"*, and that *"It is a good idea to move around a lot to find the best job."*

Table 11.2 takes the two loyalty statements and cross-tabulates each with the three statements favouring or accepting mobility. We can see clearly that only about 40 – 50% on average give consistent answers by accepting loyalty or stability and rejecting mobility, or vice-versa. It is true also that very few men disagree with both statements in each case but about 30 – 40% on average tend to agree that somehow both loyalty and mobility are acceptable and even desirable. There are

Table 11.1 Attitudes towards work and mobility

Statement		Agree very much	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree very much	Don't know/no opinion	Total
"To keep your earnings up, you should move on to another job before a site is wound up."	%	14	41	3	31	3	8	100
"You can't do good work when you're working at top speed."	%	18	49	2	26	3	1	100
"If he can, a man should be loyal to one employer."	%	14	55	4	22	3	2	100
"Employers are not too concerned if men are out of work."	%	14	47	4	28	3	3	100
"If you can, it's wise to stick to a job right up to the end."	%	13	54	4	24	2	3	100
"If people talked less and worked harder, things would be better in the building industry."	%	17	36	4	34	7	2	100
"It's a good idea to move around a lot to find the best job."	%	8	43	4	39	4	2	100
"The trouble with building is that you can never be sure you won't have to look for work next week."	%	18	50	2	22	3	4	100
"It's more important to do work well than to do it quickly."	%	35	58	1	5	0	1	100
"You've got to be prepared to move around from one boss to another in this trade."	%	13	54	2	25	2	3	100
"A skilled man should only take jobs that use his skill."	%	23	47	3	23	2	1	100

Base = 1414

Table 11.2 **Consistencies and inconsistencies in attitudes to mobility**

Mobility statement		Loyalty statement			
		"If he can, a man should be loyal to one employer."		"If you can, it is wise to stick to a job right up to the end."	
		Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
"To keep earnings up you should move on to another job before the site is wound up."	Agree	37%	17%	31%	21%
	Disagree	26%	7%	29%	4%
	Don't know	13%		15%	
"It is a good idea to move around a lot to find the best job."	Agree	29%	17%	30%	17%
	Disagree	35%	7%	33%	8%
	Don't know	12%		12%	
"You've got to be prepared to move around a lot from one boss to another in this trade."	Agree	44%	19%	42%	21%
	Disagree	21%	5%	22%	4%
	Don't know	11%		11%	

Base = 1414

probably two reasons for this. First, there is a natural and well-known tendency, especially among less well-educated people, to agree politely with all propositions put by the interviewer. Secondly, the two earlier statements are preceded with the caveat *'if you/he can. . . .'*, indicating a genuine preference, whereas one of the apparently contradictory statements contains the phrase *'you've got to be prepared. . . .'* inviting men's agreemeent in accordance with their assessment of the reality of mobility in the construction industry. It is quite reasonable for a man to feel that he would *prefer* to be loyal to one employer, but, at the same time, feel that *in reality,* he has to be prepared to move around from one boss to another. These opinions now seem less contradictory. Further light is thrown upon this problem by noting that the statement attracting the most disagreement is that *"It's a good idea to move around a lot to find the best job"*, and that nearly 70% agreed that *"The trouble with building is that you can never be sure you won't have to look for work next week"*. It is possible that men's preparedness to agree with these statements which initially appear to be contradictory is an indication of some resignation to the possibility of mobility rather than a wholeheartedly favourable disposition to mobility itself. Many men seem to feel that mobility is an inherent feature of work in construction. It is not a welcome feature but one can make the best of it by sticking in a secure job if you can get it or by moving on if you have to.

In order to investigate this further, various statistical techniques were employed to identify which attitudes tended to go together. This analysis suggested that men's replies to these attitude questions reflected the presence of three underlying attitude dimensions which may be called: 'loyalty', 'pro-mobility' and 'resigned to mobility'. Two items were selected to represent each and were combined in this way:

Loyalty = *"If he can, a man should be loyal to one employer"*
and
"If you can, it's wise to stick to a job right up to the end".

Pro-mobility = *"To keep your earnings up you should move on to another job before a site is wound up"*.
and
"It's a good idea to move around a lot to find the best job".

Resigned to mobility = *"The trouble with building is that you can never be sure you won't have to look for work next week"*.
and
"You've got to be prepared to move around from one boss to another in this trade".

Attitudes and mobility

The relationship between each of these three attitudes to mobility and men's actual mobility, both voluntary and involuntary, was then considered. Table 11.3 shows, as one would expect, that there is a clear relationship between mobility and attitudes. On the one hand, those who disagree with the loyalty statements have been more mobile than those who agree and, on the other, those agreeing with pro-mobility statements have experienced greater mobility than have those who disagree. What is perhaps surprising is that there is not an even more pronounced relationship between expressed attitudes and experiences of mobility. Table 11.3(a) shows that even among men expressing the strongest agreement with the loyalty statements, only just over half of them (55%) compared with a total sample proportion of 41% have succeeded in remaining loyal to one employer over the five year period. Similarly 50% of those disagreeing strongly with the pro-mobility statements have nevertheless changed jobs at least once (Table 11.3 (b)).

Table 11.3 **Mobility by the three underlying attitude dimensions**

Number of jobs	Total	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
	%	%	%	%	%	%
(a) Mobility by attitudes to 'loyalty' statements						
1	41	55	47	37	34	21
2	19	15	21	16	18	24
3	13	14	12	18	13	12
4	11	8	10	5	13	12
5–6	7	3	5	11	9	11
7+	10	5	6	11	13	21
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base		*252*	*512*	*56*	*350*	*170*
(b) Mobility by attitudes to 'pro-mobility' statements						
1	41	20	34	39	46	50
2	19	17	16	20	20	21
3	13	11	13	16	14	13
4	11	16	14	10	7	10
5–6	7	12	8	12	6	3
7+	10	24	17	4	7	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base		*171*	*315*	*84*	*415*	*293*
(c) Mobility by attitudes to 'resigned to mobility' statements						
1	41	23	39	56	44	60
2	19	19	19	15	21	19
3	13	14	10	16	15	11
4	11	14	13	3	9	6
5–6	7	14	7	2	4	3
7+	10	16	12	8	7	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base		*277*	*467*	*61*	*365*	*235*

So, whereas at least half the sample say they value a loyal and stable relationship with an employer and a similar number say they oppose mobility for its own sake, we find that their chances of remaining continuously in the service of one employer for five years are no better than fifty-fifty. Certainly, those who adopt a more jaundiced (or, of course, a more realistic) view of loyalty to employers and those who appear to value mobility are in fact more mobile, we cannot know at the moment to what extent their attitudes are supportive of their behaviour or merely a reflection of their experiences. Some clues are provided by the 'resigned to mobility' scale.

First we may note there is a strong correlation between being pro-mobility and being resigned to it. This suggests the two feelings are intertwined—mobility is acceptable, even a good idea sometimes, but it is something you have to reckon with anyway.

Table 11.3 (c) shows that those who agree strongly that *"The trouble with building is that you can never be sure you won't have to look for work next week"* and that *"You've got to be prepared to move around from one boss to another in this trade"* have been relatively mobile while, at the other extreme, those who disagree very much with these 'resigned to mobility' statements have been particularly stable with 60% (as against 41% overall) of them having stayed with the same employer during the five year reference period. Thus it appears that men's responses to these statements are firmly lodged in their actual experiences.

When we speak of a relationship between attitudes and behaviour we imply the presence in the relationship of an element of choice, of men acting with volition. The relationship implies that men have dispositions towards mobility and order their behaviour accordingly. However, we know that this is not always so, men are often made redundant, and the data discussed above indicate already that this causes some men to have a rate of mobility that seems to contradict their preferences. Furthermore, many apparently congruent attitudes contain a strong element of rationalising the inevitable.

To shed more light on this puzzle, Table 11.4 reintroduces the typology used in Chapters 4 and 5 which divides men into seven groups according to the rate of mobility and the kind of mobility they have experienced over the past five years (see Figure 3 on page 31) and then shows how each group differs in their attitudes towards mobility. It seems reasonable to expect that preference for a loyal and stable relationship with an employer will predominate among men who have moved very little and be notably absent among, especially, the high voluntary movers. Conversely, it is reasonable to expect that 'pro-mobility' attitudes will characterise the high voluntary movers whereas the 'resigned to mobility' attitudes would be most evident among those with a history of redundancy.

These expectations are broadly true but, again, not to the extent that may be thought likely. For example, it is true that fully 80% of the high involuntary movers say, quite reasonably, they are resigned to mobility being a feature of their industry compared with about half among the total sample who believe this. But still 60% of the high voluntary movers say they are resigned to mobility and so do 41% of the stable workers. Likewise, an understandable 66% of the stable workers say they favour loyalty but so do 41% of the high voluntary movers.

Satisfaction and mobility

Another aspect of the attitude-behaviour relationship to be examined was men's assessment of the importance they accord to different aspects of their work. Table 11.5 lists in order of importance the main criteria for comparing one job with another.

The most important consideration is not pay or conditions but the prospect of *"always being in work"*. This question of security was included in three other items: *"Security—being guaranteed work for as long as you want it"* is ranked third while the more voluntaristic version: *"Being able to stay with the firm"* and *"Being able to go from one employer to another easily"* are down-rated at 10th and 13th respectively with only 37% finding the latter very important. Thus these ratings are dominated by two items stressing a guarantee from the employer of continuity of work and of employment. Security generally is therefore regarded as important or more important than pay which is ranked 2nd. Other forms of security also feature strongly in the list. High safety standards are ranked fourth and what might also

Table 11.4 Attitudes to mobility by type of mobility

		Stable workers	Voluntary		Mixed		Involuntary	
			Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Pro-loyalty	1	25	13	13	17	8	12	17
	2	39	37	28	34	25	46	31
	3	4	3	4	5	8	3	1
	4	21	26	25	28	34	21	37
Anti-loyalty	5	6	16	23	12	24	12	8
No answer		6	6	8	4	1	6	6
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Pro-mobility	1	6	11	24	12	27	9	23
	2	17	17	26	27	40	19	41
	3	6	6	5	7	6	8	6
	4	32	31	23	28	21	33	23
Anti-mobility	5	25	24	14	19	6	22	6
No answer		13	11	8	6	0	9	3
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Resigned to mobility	1	11	17	26	27	32	18	46
	2	30	30	34	34	44	40	34
	3	6	4	3	5	2	0	3
	4	27	31	24	22	19	25	14
Not resigned	5	17	14	9	6	2	11	1
No answer		8	5	4	5	1	6	1
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base		*550*	*254*	*133*	*187*	*102*	*117*	*71*

Table 11.5 The importance men attach to main criteria for comparing one job with another

Criterion		Importance					
		Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not at all important	No answer	Total
Always being in work	%	92	6	1	1	0	100
Good pay	%	83	15	1	1	0	100
Security—being guaranteed work for as long as you want it	%	82	13	3	1	1	100
High safety standards at work	%	81	14	3	1	1	100
Having friendly workmates	%	69	25	4	1	1	100
Interesting work	%	68	26	4	1	1	100
Live at home all the time	%	66	20	10	3	1	100
Good facilities at work	%	59	29	9	2	1	100
Freedom to decide how to work	%	54	36	6	1	3	100
Staying with the firm	%	54	30	12	3	1	100
Being in the open in summer	%	52	24	17	4	3	100
Reasonable hours, no shifts	%	46	30	15	5	4	100
Being able to go easily to another employer	%	37	32	18	7	6	100
Easy journey to work	%.	31	40	23	4	2	100
Being under cover in winter	%	27	27	31	11	4	100
Getting all the overtime you want	%	21	28	33	12	6	100

Base = 1414

be called the security of the social aspects of men's working environment ie having friendly workmates is ranked fifth. Another indication of the apparently sober perspective placed upon material aspects of work is that *"getting all the overtime you want"* is regarded as relatively unimportant and is ranked last of this list. This conjures the image of the construction worker as the man who is as anxious for security and safety in his work as he is to receive a good reward for his labour.

It is one thing, however, to have a personal list of preferences upon which to base the choice between one job and another and quite another to have the habit or even the opportunity of exercising such a choice. In fact only 38% of men reported that they *"...generally have a free choice of the kind of job you can get"* while more than half (55%) agreed simply that they *"...usually have to take whatever job is going."* (Q.11). As a further measure of the extent to which men felt that they had achieved these criteria, they were asked to rate on a seven-point scale the extent to which these aspects had applied to their work in the construction industry over the last five years. The importance and achievement scores were then combined to provide a 'satisfaction score', that is, a measure of the extent to which men had, or had not, achieved those things which they say are important to them. Those who have achieved the things which are very important to them can be considered to be the most satisfied; those who have not achieved what is very important can be considered to be the most dissatisfied; in between are those who have acheived what is not important and those who have not achieved what is not in any case important to them. After all there is less relative deprivation in not achieving something of no personal importance than in failing to achieve something which is valued highly.

Again statistical techniques were used to consider which items of satisfaction went together and four basic satisfaction dimensions were identified which were:

Security satisfaction	Never out of work Always able to stay on with firms Secure
Skill satisfaction	Interesting Always plan my own work Always jobs going in my line Work at my own pace
Site satisfaction	Always good site facilities Safe
Convenience satisfaction	Always short journeys Always live at home Reasonable hours

So, for example, the overall site satisfaction score consists of the rating of importance given to good site facilities multiplied by men's assessment of their working experience in this respect plus the importance multiplied by achievement of safety score. From these results a five point scale (most satisfied—most dissatisfied) was constructed.

We can now see how each of these satisfactions relates to mobility. How satisfied are the most and least mobile men with each of these aspects of working life? Table 11.6 looks at satisfaction with security according to the number of jobs men have had. It shows quite clearly that the more frequently men have changed jobs, the greater their sense of dissatisfaction with the security they have found in the construction industry. Eighty six per cent of the most mobile group express some degree of security dissatisfaction, compared with 35% overall. It is perhaps surprising that even among the stable men, fewer than 70% were in the satisfied categories. As soon as there has been even one job change the proportion in the satisfied groups drops to below 50%.

Table 11.6 Security satisfaction by mobility

		Number of jobs						
		1	2	3	4	5–6	7+	Total
Most satisfied	1	35	22	11	8	2	2	21
	2	32	23	23	20	16	3	24
	3	21	27	23	21	11	8	21
	4	9	17	25	26	38	30	19
Most dissatisfied	5	3	10	18	25	33	56	16
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base		*586*	*271*	*180*	*150*	*92*	*135*	*1414*

This result may appear to negate the earlier finding that there is some correspondence between attitudes and behaviour. Again, this is not necessarily so. We found that many men had some disposition towards loyalty to employers but that they were not always able to realise loyalty and stability. Beyond that, many men appeared to accept, even to see advantage in mobility and were mobile even though this acceptance or approval was often overlaid with a realisation that mobility was often an abrupt necessity. Consequently, we found that attitudes appearing to support mobility (willingly or grudgingly) were as likely to be associated with involuntary mobility as with movement by choice. Now we find that the outcome of mobility appears to be dissatisfaction with security, and that higher rates of mobility give rise to extreme dissatisfaction. How does this align with the apparent earlier acceptance of mobility by the mobile?

First let us be clear what the dissatisfaction measure actually measures: (1) overwhelmingly, men rated security as important to them, (2) consistently mobile men reported their experience of work in construction to have been insecure. This second measure is a fairly matter-of-fact report but when the two measures are combined, it does result in mobile men acquiring low satisfaction scores. With a derived score like this, we must be clear that even extreme dissatisfaction does not necessarily imply anguish. The result should be taken at its face value: we find that whereas actual mobility is associated with a certain, sometimes grudging acceptance of mobility, men value security very much and most mobile men are very conscious of not having had security which is as important to them as it is to more stable workers.

The extent to which men scoring low on the satisfaction with security scale may be expressing a sense of grievance rather than simply reporting what has been happening to them may be seen in Table 11.7. Here the typology of kinds of mobility is used again to show clearly that the proportion of men saying they feel dissatisfied with their job security over the past five years rises from 10% among the stable workers to 82% among the high involuntary movers. It is interesting to see, however, that this proportion is 49% among the high voluntary movers. So it is clear that it is not just the rate of mobility that causes men to report dissatisfaction

Table 11.7 Satisfaction with security by type of mobility

		Stable workers	Voluntary		Mixed		Involuntary	
			Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Most satisfied	1	34	20	8	6	4	15	0
	2	31	24	17	17	2	24	8
	3	19	28	22	18	9	21	4
	4	8	17	26	28	33	19	27
Most dissatisfied	5	2	5	23	25	46	19	55
No answer		6	4	4	6	6	3	6
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base		*550*	*254*	*133*	*187*	*102*	*117*	*71*

with security but the experience of redundancy is a source of grievance over and above the mere matter-of-fact report of having moved despite valuing security.

Table 11.8 shows satisfaction on the other measures by mobility. Generally, the levels of satisfaction derived from the items combining into skill, site and convenience of job are only very weakly related to the number of jobs men have had, and, in the case of skill satisfaction there is no relationship at all apparent from the table. Mobile men are just as likely to express satisfaction with skill as are stable men.

Table 11.8 Job satisfactions by mobility

		Number of jobs						
		1	2	3	4	5–6	7+	Total
Skill satisfaction		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Most satisfied	1	20	24	19	21	19	21	21
	2	29	25	28	31	29	25	28
	3	15	12	11	14	6	12	13
	4	24	24	21	22	29	30	24
Most dissatisfied	5	12	15	21	13	18	13	14
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Site satisfaction								
Most satisfied	1	20	15	11	19	8	13	16
	2	22	18	14	10	22	12	18
	3	26	26	29	25	27	22	26
	4	19	23	24	24	19	26	18
Most dissatisfied	5	14	16	22	22	24	26	21
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Convenience of job satisfaction								
Most satisfied	1	23	19	15	12	13	9	18
	2	26	28	26	23	18	14	24
	3	23	15	16	17	16	19	19
	4	16	23	24	24	28	24	21
Most dissatisfied	5	13	17	19	25	24	34	19
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base		*586*	*271*	*180*	*150*	*92*	*135*	*1414*

Site and convenience of job satisfaction relate to mobility in similar ways. It is only among the most mobile that feelings of dissatisfaction are more apparent. There are small groups of very mobile, very dissatisfied men but, excluding these, site and convenience of job satisfactions exist independently of the rate of mobility.

We have considered, then, the general relationship between present attitudes and satisfactions and past mobility, both voluntary and involuntary. What emerges is a picture of construction workers showing some consistency between their attitudes and behaviour—generally those who are pro-mobility have been mobile and those who are pro-loyalty have been relatively stable. It is difficult to disentangle the mixture of genuine disposition and post-hoc justification which is inevitably brought to the expression of present attitudes about past experiences. However, if there is a genuine pro-mobility sub-culture operating on any significant scale then it would be expected that pro-mobility attitudes would associate particularly with *voluntary* mobility. This happens only marginally. There are, for example, a few men who reject the attitudes associated with loyalty and who have been particularly voluntarily mobile. However, by and large the relationship is with mobility generally rather than with the volition involved in that mobility.

There is a further finding which throws more light on this relationship between attitudes and behaviour. Men were asked whether they intended to leave their present employer in the foreseeable future (Q 23).

Twenty two per cent of men presently in employment said they were intending to leave, 74% intended (or at least hoped) to say where they were, 4% could not guess what they might do. The rate of past job mobility of those two groups of men—those intending to leave and those staying on if they can—is very much the same as this simplified contrast shows:

	Men intending to leave	Men hoping to stay
	%	%
1 or 2 jobs	57	61
3 or more jobs	43	39
	100	100

This result casts more doubt on the idea that there is a pro-mobility sub-culture among mobile men that supports and facilitates job mobility. Men who were actually intending to be mobile were no more likely to have had a history of past mobility than men who wanted to stay with their present employer. Thus, many of those hoping to stay on were men with a past history of mobility and insecurity who, presumably, had had enough of moving about.

Even more remarkably, we find in Table 11.9 that the proportion of men intending to leave their present employer is the same among men having a history of voluntary or involuntary mobility. Men who have often been sacked would be expected to opt to stay with their present employer but men who have often moved from one employer to another by choice also appear to look forward to continued employment with their present firm.

Table 11.9 Employment intentions by type of mobility

	Stable workers	Voluntary		Mixed		Involuntary	
		Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Intending to leave	19	22	22	26	33	18	17
Hoping to stay	77	73	72	71	60	77	79
Don't know	4	5	6	3	5	3	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*550*	*254*	*133*	*187*	*102*	*117*	*71*

To investigate this further, men's intentions were considered in relation to their attitudes (Table 11.10). Even among those expressing the strongest pro-mobility attitudes only 32% actually intend to leave their current employer in the foreseeable future, 10% don't know, and 58% were hoping to stay. Only the group of men rejecting attitudes of loyalty intend to leave and hope to stay in equal numbers. Other experiences which may be thought to bring an influence to intention to leave are the number of times men have been unemployed and the number of jobs they have had outside the construction industry. In fact neither of these variables significantly affect men's intentions to leave their present employer. Of men intending to leave 63% had never been unemployed and 68% had never worked outside construction; of those hoping to stay 66% had no experience of unemployment and 73% had not worked outside construction.

If there were a pro-mobility sub-culture among mobile men supporting and encouraging their mobility, it would be expected that for this group past experience would predict intention either to leave or to stay with a current employer. However we find that neither past experience nor, in most cases, expressed attitudes, significantly reduce a widespread aspiration for future stability. As we found a small group of men who, rejecting the loyalty attitudes, have been particularly voluntarily mobile, so we find these men more likely than any other group to say they intend to leave their present employer. Those who show the strongest disagreement with pro-mobility attitudes are particularly concerned to remain with their employer. Between these two groups lie the men who, in large numbers, hope to remain in their current employment, at least for the foreseeable future, whatever their past experience of mobility or their attitudes towards mobility. There appears to be a widespread desire for continuous employment with current employers and this again casts doubt on the idea that there is a generally positive attitude towards mobility that facilitates actual mobility in construction and that men are doing what they would prefer.

It has been mentioned earlier that men were asked *"Do you feel that you generally have a free choice of the kind of job you can get or do you usually have to take whatever job is going?"* (Q.11) Table 11.11 examines the relationship between this subjective sense of choice and mobility.

The results indicate, first, that skilled men are far more likely than the unskilled to perceive some kind of choice

Table 11.10 Employment intentions by underlying attitude dimensions

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Intention to leave present employer in the foreseeable future by attitudes to loyalty statements						
Intending to leave	13	18	15	21	46	22
Hoping to stay	85	78	81	75	46	74
Don't know	2	4	2	4	8	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*223*	*450*	*48*	*299*	*151*	*1236*
Intention by attitudes to pro-mobility statements						
Intending to leave	32	25	21	24	11	22
Hoping to stay	58	71	73	73	87	74
Don't know	10	3	7	3	2	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*139*	*248*	*73*	*367*	*279*	*1236*
Intention by attitudes to resigned to mobility statements						
Intending to leave	27	23	19	19	18	22
Hoping to stay	65	73	78	77	80	74
Don't know	8	5	3	3	2	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*216*	*399*	*59*	*329*	*160*	*1236*

Table 11.11 Mobility by perceived freedom of choice within three skill grades

Number of jobs	Skilled		Semi-skilled		Unskilled	
	Has a free choice	Takes whatever job is going	Free choice	Any job	Free choice	Any job
	45%	55%	38%	62%	23%	77%
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1	31	47	42	41	46	34
2	25	18	14	18	15	17
3	14	10	11	18	4	15
4	12	10	13	8	17	13
5–6	6	6	9	7	4	12
7	12	9	12	8	15	9
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*360*	*441*	*112*	*179*	*48*	*154*

(45% – VS – 23%) but, significantly, still the majority (55%) of skilled men feel they have to take whatever employment is offered them.

Among skilled men, those who perceive some kind of choice tend, somewhat, to exercise it more frequently and so are less stable than men who, though skilled, still feel they have to take any job offered.

Among the semi-skilled men, optimists and pessimists are equally mobile, some choosing their jobs and others being moved on. Among the unskilled, those (the majority) resigned to taking any job are still more mobile than average, indicating a degree of unwilling mobility which contrasts with the more willing mobility of choosing skilled men. Interestingly, unskilled pessimists show a similar pattern of mobility to that of skilled optimists.

A different approach to this question is shown in Table 11.12. Here the proportion of men believing they have the power to choose jobs or who are obliged to take any job going is shown separately for the seven groups of the typology of kinds of mobility. First, for the sample as a whole, it is surprising to find that these proportions do not differ all that much between even the voluntary and involuntary groups. Strangely, about half the voluntary movers still believe they have to take whatever job is going and, stranger still, about one third of those with a history of redundancy believe they still can pick and choose among jobs. This tends to support our feeling that a lot of voluntary mobility is constrained and even coerced by other factors while a similar amount of involuntary movement may well contain a lot of voluntary redundancy. When one thinks about it carefully, there is probably a very finely calibrated continuum representing the extent of volition in job mobility, ranging from the most pre-emptory employer's dismissal on the one hand to the most opportunistic employee's move on the other.

With this subjective overall measure of volition, clearly it is skill that is the deciding factor. Even among labourers with a history of voluntary mobility, 74% say they still have to take whatever job is going compared with 47% of their skilled colleagues with a similar history of voluntary movement.

As previously we identified a group of men who have disagreed strongly with attitudes expressing loyalty and have been voluntarily mobile, so these data suggest that there is a fairly small group of confident and skilled men who, feeling that they have a choice in the kind of job they can get, exercise that choice by changing jobs relatively frequently. But for the general run of workers the preference is for stability but there is not, for the majority of them, the experience of it.

Finally, then, what answer can be provided to the opening questions of whether or not there is a pro-mobility sub-culture among men encouraging their mobility, and whether mobility is a problem for men? In considering men's attitudes to various aspects of work and mobility in the construction industry, and then relating these attitudes to their actual experiences, there appears at first to be a reasonable match between attitudes and behaviour. Men most likely to favour mobility are also the more mobile and those favouring loyalty are the more stable. However, further investigation casts doubt on this simple explanation. If men are mobile because that is what they prefer, then it would be expected that pro-mobility attitudes would relate particularly to voluntary mobility. This is not generally the case. What is important is mobility itself rather than the voluntary or involuntary nature of that mobility. This suggests more rationalisation than purpose. Mobile men also acknowledge that their work in construction has been insecure.

Table 11.12 Ability to choose jobs by type of mobility

	Stable workers	Voluntary		Mixed		Involuntary	
		Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
All							
Choose jobs	32	50	42	37	47	30	35
Take any job	59	44	54	60	51	62	61
Don't know	9	5	3	3	1	7	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*550*	*254*	*133*	*187*	*102*	*117*	*71*
Skilled men							
Choose jobs	30	58	48	43	56	43	40
Take any job	60	36	47	53	44	54	55
Don't know	10	5	5	4	0	3	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*340*	*171*	*77*	*101*	*59*	*70*	*42*
Semi-skilled men							
Choose jobs	36	45	39	38	47	17	37
Take any job	56	55	57	62	47	75	63
Don't know	8	0	4	0	5	8	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*124*	*49*	*28*	*47*	*19*	*24*	*16*
Unskilled men							
Choose jobs	30	19	26	16	26	5	26
Take any job	63	69	74	78	74	79	74
Don't know	7	11	0	6	0	16	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	*71*	*32*	*27*	*32*	*23*	*27*	*19*

Further doubts are raised by the lack of congruence between men's past rate of mobility and their intention to leave or stay with their current employers. The great majority of men, regardless of their job history, express the hope of being able to continue with their present employer at least for the foreseeable future. If mobile men fully espoused the values associated with job mobility many of them would probably be anticipating a move from their current employer. However many men's expectations of the future are in contrast to their past behaviour. There appears to be a hope for greater stability than has been the experience of the past. Remember, 86% actually expect to stay with their employer for 2 years. On the evidence of the whole of this report, far fewer will.

Appendix A The sample

Sample design
The sample of construction workers was located by means of a sift. That is to say, interviews were conducted at a large number of addresses to discover whether any of the men living there fitted the survey's definition of a 'construction worker' (given below). All construction workers located in this way were included in the sample for the main survey whose results have been set out in this report.

The addresses for the sift were taken from the Postcode Address File. This is a comprehensive list held on computer by the Post Office of all addresses in Great Britain, including very new property. The sample was drawn from the small user file, which includes private addresses and small scale businesses and institutions but excludes organisations which regularly receive a great bulk of mail.

The sample of addresses was drawn using a three stage stratified design. Each region was divided into geographically contiguous groups of postal districts to form areas roughly the size of a parliamentary constituency. These groups of postal districts formed the Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) and selections were made within each region with probability proportional to the number of delivery points (which are, roughly speaking, letter boxes). The distribution of selected PSU's throughout the regions was as follows:

Region	No. of PSUs
Northern	18
Yorkshire & Humberside	26
North West	35
West Midlands	27
East Midlands	18
East Anglia	10
GLC	35
South East	49
South West	22
Wales	16
Scotland	28
Total	284

Within each selected PSU, three postal sectors (very small sectors were grouped) were systematically selected with probability proportional to delivery points. Fifty six delivery points were selected from each sector, by taking a random start and selecting every fifth delivery point in the order listed, up to the total of 56.

This design produced a self weighting sample, as the probability, p, of selection of each address is

$$p=\frac{r_i}{N}\times\frac{d_j}{r_i}\times\frac{s_k}{d_j}\times\frac{56}{s_k}=\frac{56}{N}$$

where

N = total no. of delivery points in GB
r_i = total no. of delivery points in region (i)
d_j = total no. of delivery points in PSU (j) (district group)
s_k = total no. of delivery points in sector (k)

Some addresses are included more than once in the Postcode Address File's list of delivery points usually because they are thought to contain more than one household. An adaptation of the General Household Survey's multihousehold procedure was used for households at these addresses to ensure that their probability of selection was the same as that of households at addresses listed only once.

The final sample size was 47,712 addresses (that is 284 (districts) × 3 (sectors) × 56 (addresses)).

Definition of 'construction worker'
A man was counted as a construction worker if he belonged to any of the following five categories:

1. Men employed as manual workers in construction at time of interview.
2. Men employed as (1) but laid off, sick or otherwise off work at time of interview.
3. Men working at time of interview as self-employed manual operatives in construction, but excluding those employing other men.
4. Men whose last job had been as a manual worker in construction who were unemployed and looking for work at time of interview.
5. Men who would have belonged to any of these categories one year before the date of interview.

Note that this definition includes craftsmen-foremen who work as manual workers at their trade while also supervising others but excludes site foremen whose duties are solely supervisory.

The phrase 'in construction' means work for an organisation (including a self-employed man's own business) whose main activity is covered by Order 20 of the Standard Industrial Classification.

Response

Sift:

The set sample of 47,712 addresses contained 43,382 eligible households. The household response figures were as follows:

Table A.1 Response to Sift

Eligible households	43,382	100%
Non-contacts	3,856	8.9%
Refusals	3,125	7.2%
Responding households	36,401	83.9%

Main Stage

The sift identified 2,752 individuals who appeared to be eligible as construction workers. The response at the main stage was as follows:

Table A.2 Response to Main Stage

Total selected	**2752**	**100%**	
Identified as ineligible:			
At time of interview	105	3.8%	
Later	153	5.6%	
Total eligible	**2494**	**90.6%**	**100%**
Eligible interviews	1969	71.5%	78.9%
Non-contacts	251	9.1%	10.1%
Refusals	274	10.0%	11.0%

The effect on the survey's results of non-response to the main stage interviews

The confidence that can be placed in the results of any survey depends to a large extent on how well it represents the population of interest. Non-response, whether it results from outright refusals to be interviewed or from a failure to make contact with eligible respondents, may therefore call into question the value of a survey's findings. In the case of the present survey there are two sources of non-response: non-response to the initial sift of 47,712 addresses, carried out to locate the sample of construction workers, and non-response to the main survey itself.

None of our survey documents provide any information on the characteristics of the 16% of private households who failed to respond to the initial sift. However the information collected by the initial sift does enable us to say something about the individuals who, though eligible, either refused or could not be contacted for the main interview. This gives us an idea of the effect of non-response on some of the data provided in the main part of the report. The tables that follow are based on the sift questionnaires completed for individuals who would have been eligible for a mainstage interview. They exclude those individuals who were thought, on the basis of the sift information, to be eligible but who turned out at the mainstage to be ineligible. They also exclude a small group of individuals whose sift forms, as a result of clerical error, could not be matched with the information about whether a mainstage interview was obtained.

The employment statuses referred to in Table A.3 are not fully comparable with the information on employment status given elsewhere in the report—partly because in a number of cases the information provided by the sift questionnaires was not precise enough to decide the individual's employment status, and partly because the status of some individuals will have changed between the dates of the sift interview and the main interview. However it is unlikely that either factor would be sufficiently important to make the figures given in Table A.3 seriously misleading. The figures suggest that the response rates for all the groups considered were of the same order of magnitude though the level of response from unemployed construction workers seems to have been lower than the response from those of their colleagues who were in work.

Table A.4, which gives response rates by craft group, indicates that non-response at the mainstage was at broadly the same level in all craft groups—except 'other construction skills' and 'labourers and mates'. Refusals and non-contacts reached a quarter of the eligible sample in both these groups.

Given the subject matter of this report, the most crucial question is whether non-response occured among mobile workers more or less than among those who remained with the same employer. We did not, of course, collect employment histories at sift interviews but interviewers did ask whether the individual was working for the same employer as one year before. Table A.5 compares the response rate for those who were, with the response rate for those who had changed their employer or moved between self-employment and work as an employee. The response rates are virtually the same, suggesting that the non-response at the main stage had little effect on the estimates of mobility given earlier in this report.

Table A.3 Response by employment status given at sift

	Total	Eligible as manual construction workers because of status at time of sift			Eligible because of status one year before sift, but at time of sift:		Apparently eligible but precise status not clear from sift document
		Employees	Self-employed	Unemployed	Present or last job not manual construction	Economically inactive	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Interviewed	80	81	80	73	77	85	74
Refused	10	10	10	12	11	12	13
Non-contact	10	9	10	15	12	3	13
Base	*2430*	*1514*	*390*	*192*	*145*	*33*	*156*

Table A.4 Response by craft group of present or last job as given at sift

	Total	Carpenters and joiners	Brick-layers	Elec-tricians	Plumbers	Painters	Mech-anical equip-ment oper-ators	Plasterers and tilers	Scaffolders and steel-fixers	Other con-struc-tion skills	Labourers and mates	Drivers and miscel-laneous occu-pations
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Interviewed	80	81	84	82	84	84	79	82	89	74	75	80
Refused	10	11	5	13	11	8	8	6	6	13	12	12
Non-contact	10	8	11	6	5	9	13	12	6	13	13	8
*Base**	*2390*	*297*	*214*	*152*	*186*	*267*	*130*	*115*	*70*	*368*	*377*	*214*

*Excludes the economically inactive and seven individuals who did not give information about their work.

Table A.5 Response by whether changed employer in the year before the sift-interview

	Total	Same employer	Changed employer
Interviewed	81	81	79
Refused	10	10	10
Non-contact	9	9	11
*Base**	*2149*	*1643*	*506*

*All individuals with a job at the time of the sift interview, excluding 6 no-answers.

Sampling error

Apart from bias due to non-response the accuracy of a survey's findings are affected by sampling variability, that is the possible divergence of the results from the true values for the whole population of interest that results from the fact that they are based on data from a sample instead of a census of the entire group. A measure of the sampling variability affecting a result is provided by the standard error of the estimate in question. If the sample is not biased the true population value and the sample estimate are within two standard errors of each other about 19 times out of 20.

The following table gives sample estimates and their standard error for the mean number of jobs held during the five year period and for the proportion of workers who held only one job during that period.

The different rows relate to various subgroups within the current workforce.

The formula used for calculating these standard errors was

$$SE(r) = \left[\frac{1}{x^2} \sum_{s=1}^{S} \left\{ \frac{T_s}{2(T_s-1)} \sum_{p=1}^{T_s-1} (dy_{ps} - r\, dx_{ps})^2 \right\} \right]^{1/2}$$

Where r is the estimate concerned

x is the total number of individuals contributing to the calculation

x_{ps} is the total number of individuals from PSU p in stratum s contributing to the calculation

y_{ps} is the total number of jobs held by all the individuals from PSU p in stratum s contributing to the calculation of the mean number of jobs in 5 years.
or the number of individuals from PSU p in stratum s contributing to the calculation of proportions, who had one job only in the 5 years.

T_s is the number of PSUs in stratum s

$dx_{ps} = x_{(p+1)s} - x_{ps} \qquad p = 1, \ldots, T_s - 1$

$dy_{ps} = y_{(p+1)s} - y_{ps} \qquad p = 1, \ldots, T_s - 1$

S is the number of strata

The strata referred to here are the geographical regions listed at the beginning of this Appendix.

Table A.6 Standard errors of mobility estimates for current workforce

Population covered	Mean number of jobs in 5 years		Percentage with one job only in 5 years		*Base*
	Estimate	SE of Estimate	Estimate	SE of Estimate	
Age 16 – 20	2.01	0.11	51.6%	3.6%	*192*
21 – 30	3.34	0.12	28.2%	2.4%	*373*
31 – 40	3.02	0.11	30.8%	2.4%	*347*
41 – 50	2.36	0.12	42.9%	3.4%	*217*
51 – 60	1.99	0.10	55.8%	3.5%	*215*
61 and over	1.44	0.12	74.3%	5.4%	*70*
Carpenters and joiners	2.81	0.19	38.4%	4.3%	*159*
Bricklayers	3.19	0.24	33.1%	4.3%	*124*
Electricians	2.29	0.17	46.9%	5.1%	*98*
Plumbers	2.46	0.19	46.5%	4.7%	*114*
Painters	2.34	0.14	45.1%	3.8%	*144*
Mechanical equipment operators	2.48	0.17	40.0%	4.7%	*90*
Plasterers and tilers	2.33	0.22	49.1%	6.8%	*55*
Scaffolders and steel-fixers	3.61	0.28	15.7%	4.6%	*51*
Other construction skills	2.44	0.13	48.9%	3.2%	*221*
Labourers and mates	2.87	0.15	33.3%	3.2%	*231*
Drivers and miscellaneous occupations	2.35	0.13	42.5%	4.4%	*127*
Total	2.63	0.05	40.7%	1.4%	*1414*

Specific features of this formula are that:

(i) the statistics are treated as ratio estimators,

(ii) within-PSU variability is not explicitly measured and

(iii) within each stratum the variability is measured by taking differences between successive PSUs.

The formula is a modified version of an approach developed in an article by Kish and Hess (On variances of ratios and their differences in multi-stage samples, *Journal of the American Statistical Association,* 54. 1959. pp 416–446).

The formula just quoted takes into account the fact that the sample size was not fixed precisely in advance. The sample and subsample sizes (the base numbers in Table A.6) were thus themselves random variables. This creates a problem since if the coefficient of variation (in rough terms the ratio of the standard error of a figure to the figure itself) of the sample or subsample sizes were too great the results for the variables in which we are really interested (such as mobility) would be affected. The calculated standard errors could be invalid and the estimated values of the variables themselves would be open to bias. Coefficients of variation were estimated for the sizes of the subsamples referred to in Table A.6. The coefficient for the whole current workforce was 0.035. For most of the other rows the figure was less than 0.1. None was greater than 0.17. These figures are not large enough to cause concern.

Appendix B The questionnaire*
Self-completion sheet
Calendar check

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*Pages 17 – 34 of the questionnaire have been omitted as they repeat an identical sequence of questions for each of the jobs or periods of self-employment engaging the respondent during the five year period dealt with from 1st January 1974.

CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY MOBILITY SURVEY **S1121**

Date of Interview DAY ☐☐ MONTH ☐☐ 1979 Interviewer Name ....

Auth No ☐☐☐☐

SSD SERIAL NO

Area No				Address No		H/H No		Person No	

Still living at sift address 1
Moved house since sift 2

TIME INTERVIEW STARTED ☐☐ ☐☐

PERSON NUMBER	OFF USE	RELATIONSHIP TO SAMPLED INFORMANT	HOUSE-HOLDER	SEX	AGE LAST BIRTH-DAY	MARITAL STATUS	WORK STATUS Full time School or
RING			RING	M F		M Sing S/D W	F/T P/T Student N/W
1		SAMPLED INFORMANT	1	1 2		1 2 3 4	
2			1	1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
3			1	1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
4			1	1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
5			1	1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
6			1	1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
7			1	1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
8			1	1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
9			1	1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
10			1	1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

Social Survey Division
OPCS
St Catherines House
10 Kingsway
LONDON WC2B 6JP

TO ALL

1 Are you doing any paid work at present?

Yes ...	1	GO TO Q2
No	2	Ask (a)

(a) May I just check,

RUNNING PROMPT

Are you not working now because you have been temporarily laid-off, are you off sick, or taking a holiday? ...	1	GO TO Q2
or do you not have a job at all?	2	Ask (b)

IF NOT WORKING

(b) Are you ... INDIVIDUAL PROMPT

unemployed and looking for work?.....................	1
now permanently unable to work for health reasons?...	2
now retired?.......................................	3
or is there some other reason why you are not working now? [SPECIFY BELOW]...................	4

TO ALL, IF NOT WORKING, REFER TO LAST JOB

2 (a) OCCUPATION

(i) Job Title ....

(ii) Description of job:

INTERVIEWER CHECK

Manual worker	1	GO TO (b)
Foreman doing some manual work	2	
Foreman not doing any manual work ...	3	GO TO (d)
Non-manual worker	4	

(b) Most jobs are described as "skilled", "semi-skilled" or "unskilled". How is your job described by your employer? ... As ...

RUNNING PROMPT

skilled	1	GO TO (d)
semi-skilled ...	2	
or unskilled?	3	
Don't know	4	ASK (c)

(c) Are you paid any extra for skill?

Yes	1
No	2
DK	3

(d) INDUSTRY

Describe:

(e)

Employee	1	
Self-Employed ...	2	

(f) INTERVIEWER CHECK

(i) Is the business described above .....

Construction	1	
Not construction ...	2	

(ii) EMPLOYEES

DNA Self-Employed	A	GO TO (g)
Specialist company	1	ASK Q3
General contracting co.	2	ASK Q4
Construction dept of non-construction co ..	3	GO TO Q8
Nationalised industry..	4	
Local authority	5	
Government Department..	6	
Other	7	

(g) SELF-EMPLOYED

(i) Usually employs others?

Yes	1	
No	2	
IF YES Number employs →	....	

S/E IN CONSTRUCTION

(ii)

Works for contractors	1	
Works direct to public	2	
Both	3	

SELF-EMPLOYED MANUAL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS TO Q6

SELF-EMPLOYED OTHERS TO Q9

PRESENT (MOST RECENT) EMPLOYER

TO EMPLOYEES OF SPECIALIST CONSTRUCTION CO

3 Do your employers .....

RUNNING PROMPT

Work for other building or civil engineering contractors..	1	ASK (a)
Work directly to the public ...	2	GO TO Q4
or both?	3	ASK (a)

IF 1 OR 3

(a) When your employers work for other contractors, do they ....

RUNNING PROMPT

Provide materials or machinery as well as labour	1	GO TO Q4
or just provide labour	2	
or sometimes provide materials and machinery and sometimes not?	3	

TO EMPLOYEES OF SPECIALIST AND GENERAL CONSTRUCTION COS

4 How many manual workers does your firm employ directly?

PROMPT AS NECESSARY

7 or less	1	
8 to 24	2	
25 to 59	3	
60 to 99	4	
100 to 299	5	
300 to 1000	6	
more than 1000	7	
DK	8	

5 Some firms just do local work while others have sites all over the country. Would you say that your firm

RUNNING PROMPT

just does local work	1	GO TO Q8
works up to 50 miles away	2	
works up to 150 miles away but not all over Britain ..	3	
works anywhere in Britain?	4	

TO SELF-EMPLOYED MANUAL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

6 Are you .....

RUNNING PROMPT	a member of a working partnership, or any informal group of self-employed workers	1	ASK (a)
	or do you work completely independently?	2	GO TO Q7

IF 1:

(a) What is your arrangement?

PROBE FULLY

(b) May I just check, are you legally in partnership?

Yes ...	1
No	2

7 When you take on a job do you provide material or plant as well as labour?

Yes ...	1	GO TO Q9
No	2	GO TO Q9
Only sometimes ...	3	

TO ALL CONSTRUCTION EMPLOYEES

8 What kinds of work does your employer tend to take on? In particular, what kinds of building or civil engineering sites does the firm work on?

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

PROMPT FROM CARD A AS NEEDED

HOUSES	BUILDING	Individual houses	1
		Housing estates	2
		REPAIRS and maintenance of housing ...	3
OTHER BUILDINGS	BUILDING	Flats	4
		Offices, office blocks, shops ..	5
		Small civic buildings (small schools, libraries, etc)	6
		Large civic buildings (large hospitals, schools, etc)	7
		Factories, warehouses and other commercial and industrial buildings	8
		REPAIRS and maintenance of above	9
CIVIL ENGINEERING	MAKING	Roads, motorways, pavements	10
		Harbours, causeways, dams, reservoirs, river works	11
		Bridges (all types)	12
		REPAIRS and maintenance of above	13
		Railway building and maintenance	14
		Pipe laying, cable laying, sewerage works, tunnelling	15
		DK ...	17

TO ALL : TRAVELLING TO WORK

9 (a) At present, how long does it take you to travel from your home (your lodgings) to the firm's depot or to the site where you actually start work?

Hrs ☐ : ☐☐ mins

(b) About how far is this journey?

☐☐ MILES

(a) and (b) DNA, no regular place of work ... 1

(c) Are you paid anything for travelling to the place where you start work?

Yes ... 1 ASK (d)
No .... 2 ASK (f)

(d) Are you paid ....

RUNNING PROMPT

your basic rate of pay .... 1 ASK (f)
a standard amount per mile ...... 2 ASK (f)
or is there some other system of payment for travelling time?..... 3 ASK (e)

(e) What is this system of payment for travelling time? (SPECIFY BELOW)

(f) How do you travel to the place where you start work?

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

Walk only 1
Cycle 1
Public bus 1
Train 1
Lift from friends 1
Own transport 1
Firm's transport 1
Other (SPECIFY) 1
....

TO ALL

10 I'd like to know what things are important to you when you compare one job with another.

I'll read you a list of things about work which are important to some people and not to others. I'd like you to tell me just how important or unimportant each one is to you personally. If you feel some of these things are not applicable to you, please say so.

The first one is having interesting work to do. How important or unimportant is it to you to have work that is interesting. Which answer on the card comes closest to how you feel?

HAND CARD B	Not Applicable	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not very Important	Not at all Important	DK
(a) Interesting work	5	1	2	3	4	6
(b) Good facilities at work	5	1	2	3	4	6
(c) Good pay	5	1	2	3	4	6
(d) An easy journey to work	5	1	2	3	4	6
(e) Being in the open air in Summer	5	1	2	3	4	6
(f) Always being in work	5	1	2	3	4	6
(g) Having friendly workmates	5	1	2	3	4	6
(h) Staying with the firm as long as you want	5	1	2	3	4	6
(i) Getting all the overtime you want	5	1	2	3	4	6
(j) High safety standards at work	5	1	2	3	4	6
(k) Being free to decide how to go about your own job	5	1	2	3	4	6
(l) Being able to live at home all the time	5	1	2	3	4	6
(m) Security - being guaranteed work for as long as you want it	5	1	2	3	4	6
(n) Being under cover in Winter	5	1	2	3	4	6
(o) Being able to go from one employer to another easily	5	1	2	3	4	6
(p) Reasonable hours with no shiftwork	5	1	2	3	4	6

11 Do you feel that you generally have a free choice of the kind of job you can get or do you usually have to take whatever job is going?

free choice 1
any job going ... 2
DK 3

WORK HISTORY

TO ALL

Let's talk now about the various jobs you have had

12 In what year did you first get a job in the construction industry, that is a job to do with buildings or with civil engineering?

'YEAR A' = 19

13 Looking back, what was your main reason for taking a job in the construction industry?

14 How much of your working life have you spent employed in the construction industry? All told, have you spent ...

	All your working life	1	GO TO Q18
	most of your working life	2	
RUNNING PROMPT	about half your working life in the construction industry	3	ASK Q15
	or		
	have you mostly worked at other jobs?	4	

15 What other kinds of work have you done outside the construction industry? [BRIEFLY]

TO THOSE WORKING IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY OR NOT WORKING

DNA Working outside construction ...... 1 GO TO Q17

16 In what year did you last work outside the construction industry?

'YEAR B' = 19

KEY FILTER

IF 'YEAR B' IS MORE RECENT THAN 'YEAR A': - ASK Q17

IF 'YEAR B' IS THE SAME OR EARLIER THAN 'YEAR A': - GO TO Q18

17 What was your main reason for leaving the construction industry and taking up another kind of work?

TO THOSE NOW WORKING IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

OTHERS DNA → 1 GO TO Q18

(i) And what was your main reason for returning to a job in the construction industry?

TO ALL

18 You told me earlier about the kinds of jobs and sites your present employer tends to specialise in overall. What about your own work? Thinking back over all the time you have worked in the construction industry, what types of site have you worked on?

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

PROMPT FROM CARD A AS NEEDED

HOUSES	BUILDING	Individual houses	1
		Housing estates	2
	REPAIR and	maintenance of houses	3
OTHER BUILDINGS	BUILDING	Flats	4
		Offices and office blocks	5
		Small civic buildings (small schools, libraries, etc.)........	6
		Large civic buildings (large hospitals, schools, etc.)	7
		Factories, warehouses, and other commercial and industrial buildings	8
	REPAIR and	maintenance of above	9
CIVIL ENGINE -ERING	MAKING	Roads, motorways, pavements	10
		Harbours, causeways, dams, reservoirs, river works	11
		Bridges (all types)	12
	REPAIR and	maintenance of above	13
		Railway building and maintenance.	14
		Pipe and cable laying, sewage works, tunneling	15
		Never a site worker	16
		DK	17

19 To sum up then, during your whole time in the construction industry, have you ....

RUNNING PROMPT

Always worked as a labourer 1

Always worked as a tradesman or apprentice. 2

or have you sometimes worked as a labourer and sometimes as a tradesman?..... 3

THE LAST FIVE YEARS

TO ALL CURRENTLY WORKING, OTHERS, DNA .... A → COMPLETE CALENDAR

20 Have you ......

RUNNING PROMPT

worked for your present employers (been self-employed) for all of the last five years .... 1 ASK (i)

or have there been times when you were not working or you were working for someone else? .... 2 → COMPLETE CALENDAR WITH INFORMANT

(i) May I just check, was there any time in the last 5 years when you left your present employer (stopped being self-employed) and then went back?

Yes ... 1 → COMPLETE CALENDAR

No .... 2 → GO TO "JOB 1" SECTION

NOW NUMBER EACH JOB, STARTING WITH THE EARLIEST & WORKING FORWARDS TO THE PRESENT

21 May I just check, during these five years did you work for two or more separate periods for the same firm?

Yes ... 1 ASK (i)

No .... 2 SEE BELOW

(i)

NAME OF FIRM	JOB NUMBERS OF JOBS

INTRODUCE JOB-DETAILS SECTION. REMIND INFORMANT THAT HE MIGHT WELL REMEMBER A SHORT-LIVED JOB NOT RECORDED ON THE CALENDAR OR THAT ONE OR TWO DATES MAY BE WRONG. REASSURE HIM THAT THE CALENDAR CAN EASILY BE CORRECTED AND SO HE SHOULD TELL YOU ABOUT ANY INACCURACIES THAT OCCUR TO HIM AND WHAT MATTERS IS GETTING EVERYTHING DOWN AS ACCURATELY AS POSSIBLE.

THOSE NOT IN WORK ON 1ST JANUARY 1974

THOSE IN WORK ON JAN 1ST 1974, DNA ... 0 GO TO JOB 1

LENGTH OF TIME BETWEEN JAN 1ST 1974 AND STARTING DATE OF FIRST RECORDED JOB = COMPLETE MONTHS ☐☐ + WEEKS ☐

22 You have told me earlier about the time between 1st January 1974 and [STARTING DATE OF JOB 1] when you were not working. During that time, were you ...

INDIVIDUAL PROMPT, CODE ALL THAT APPLY

In full-time education?	1	ask (i)-(ii)
Unemployed and looking for work?	2	ask (ii)-(iv)
Unable to work for health reasons? ...	3	GO TO JOB 1
or was there some other reason? [SPECIFY]	4	

(i) Did this period of full-time education begin before 1st Jan. 1974?

Yes ... 1
No 2

When did you stop being in full-time education? ..... MONTH ☐☐ YEAR 197

(ii) How did you go about looking for work between 1st Jan 1974 and [STARTING DATE OF JOB 1]?

(iii) IF CODE 2 AT MAIN Q. May I just check, did you register officially as unemployed during this time?

OTHERS DNA X → GO TO JOB 1
Yes ... 1 GO TO JOB 1
No .... 2 ASK (iv)
DK .... 3 GO TO JOB 1

(iv) IF NO
Why did you decide not to register as unemployed?

JOB 1

IF CURRENT OR MOST RECENT JOB, SEE (e)

TYPE OF JOB
Employee 1
Self-employed ... 2

DATES
START ☐☐ 19☐☐
FINISH ☐☐ 19 7☐

LENGTH
COMPLETE MONTHS ☐☐
ADDITIONAL WEEKS ☐

(a) OCCUPATION
(i) Job Title ....
(ii) Description of job

(b) INDUSTRY

INTERVIEWER CODE
Construction 1
Not construction.. 2

INTERVIEWER CHECK

MANUAL
- Manual worker 1
- Foreman doing some manual work 2

Foreman doing no manual work 3
Non-manual worker 4

INTERVIEWER CHECK CONSTRUCTION EMPLOYEE JOBS ONLY
Specialist company 1
General contracting company ... 2
Construct. Dept. of non-construction co 3
Nationalised industry 4
Local authority 5
Government department 6
Other 7

MANUAL CONSTRUCTION JOBS ONLY

(c) During this time from [START DATE] to [FINISH DATE] which types of site did you work on?

USE PRECODE CARD A AND CODE ALL THAT APPLY, PROMPTING AS NECESSARY

1	9
2	10
3	11
4	12
5	13
6	14
7	15
8	16
	17

EMPLOYEE JOBS ONLY

(e) How did you get work with this particular employer?

SELF-EMPLOYED CONSTRUCTION WORKERS ONLY

(d) During this time, did you usually employ someone else?

Yes ... 1
No 2

(i) How many people did you employ? .... ☐☐

(ii) Did you work ....

RUNNING PROMPT
for contractors 1
or directly for the public 2
or for both? 3

ALL TYPES OF JOB

(f) What was your main reason for accepting this particular job? (becoming a self-employed worker?)

IF STILL WORKING IN THIS JOB GO TO Q23 ON PAGE 36

OTHERS CONTINUE

ALL TYPES OF JOB

(g) What, do you recall, was your main reason for leaving this job? (giving up self-employed work?)

EMPLOYEE JOBS ONLY

(g1) May I just check, how much longer could you have stayed on with this employer if you had wanted to? Could you have stayed on ...

RUNNING PROMPT
- for up to one month longer ... 1
- 1-3 months longer 2
- for more than three months ... 3
- or couldn't you have stayed on at all, ... 4

(h) When you left this job, did you receive a Redundancy Payment under the Redundancy Payments Act?
- Yes .. 1
- No ... 2
- DK ... 3

2, 3 → ASK (k)

IF YES
(h1) How much did you receive?

TO NEAREST POUND £ ☐☐☐

(k) Did you receive any other kind of special payment on leaving?
- Yes .. 1
- No ... 2
- DK ... 3

IF YES
(k1) What sort of payment was it?

(k2) How much did you receive?

TO NEAREST POUND £ ☐☐☐ 35

JOB GAP 10/11

NO GAP BEFORE NEXT JOB DNA ... 1 GO TO NEXT JOB

LENGTH: COMPLETE MONTHS ☐☐

ADDITIONAL WEEKS ☐

Let's look now at this time between [FINISH OF JOB 10] and [START OF JOB 11 OR PRESENT] when you told me you were not working. During this time, were you ....

INDIVIDUAL PROMPT CODE ALL THAT APPLY
- Unable to work for health reasons? 1
- Retired? 2
- In full-time education? 3
- Unemployed and looking for work? 4
- Other (SPECIFY) 5
- ....

ASK (a)-(c)

IF 3,4 NOT RINGED GO TO NEXT JOB

(a) How did you go about looking for work?

IF CODE 3 AT MAIN Q
OTHERS DNA .... X → GO TO NEXT JOB

(b) May I just check, did you register officially as unemployed during this time?
- Yes .. 1
- No ... 2
- DK ... 3

IF NO
(c) Why did you decide not to register as unemployed?

TO CURRENTLY EMPLOYED ONLY

NOT WORKING AND SELF-EMPLOYED DNA → 1 GO TO Q29

23 Do you actually intend to leave your present employer in the foreseeable future?
- Yes ... 1 GO TO Q24
- No .... 2 GO TO Q27
- DK .... 3 GO TO Q27

24 How long will it be before you plan to leave .....

PROMPT AS NECESSARY
- less than one week ... 1
- 1 to 4 weeks 2
- more than 4 weeks 3
- DK 4

25 Do you have another job to go to?
- Yes ... 1 GO TO Q26
- No .... 2 GO TO Q27

26 What job is this?

OCCUPATION

INDUSTRY

INTERVIEWER CHECK ....
- CONSTRUCTION 1
- NOT CONSTRUCTION...... 2

GO TO Q27

36

PROSPECT OF EMPLOYMENT FINISHING

TO ALL EMPLOYEES

S/E DNA	x	GO TO Q29

27 Do (would) you expect to be able to stay on with your present employer for as long as you want(ed) to?

Yes	4	GO TO Q28
No	A	ASK (a)
Must leave on retirement ..	9	GO TO Q28

IF NO

(a) If you wish(ed) to, do (would) you expect to be able to stay on

RUNNING PROMPT

for more than two years	3	GO TO Q28
or for between one and two years	2	
or for less than a year?	1	ASK (a1)
DK	8	GO TO Q28

IF LESS THAN A YEAR

(a1) How many more months do (would) you expect to be able to go on working for this employer if you wish(ed) to?

[WRITE IN]

28 If your present job finished tomorrow how long do you think it would take you to get another job?

PROMPT ONLY IF NECESSARY

one day	1	ASK (a)
2 or 3 days	2	
4 days to a week	3	
one week to 3 weeks	4	
3 weeks to a month	5	
a month to 2 months	6	
more	7	
would not expect to find one at all	8	GO TO Q29
DK	9	

IF 1-7

(a) How certain do you feel that you would find a new job in this time? Are you ......

RUNNING PROMPT

Quite certain ...	1
or Not so sure?	2

HAND CARD C

29 We have printed on this card five of the ways people in the construction industry go about looking for work. Leaving aside the question of signing on just to get unemployment benefit, if you were unemployed today, which of these ways would you rely on most to help you get a new job?

First, which way do you think is best? (CODE BELOW)

And which do you think is next best? (CODE)

And which is the third best way of looking for a job? (CODE)

	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD	NOT CHOSEN
Ask friends	1	2	3	4
Write to or phone around firms	1	2	3	4
Use Labour Exchange or Job Centre	1	2	3	4
Go around sites or firms' offices	1	2	3	4
Follow-up ads in newspapers	1	2	3	4

NOW CODE '4' FOR THE TWO ITEMS NOT SELECTED

WORKING AWAY FROM HOME

30 Thinking back over this past five years or so, have you ever worked so far away from home that you had to stay away from home overnight?

Yes ..	1	SEE (i)-(iv)
No ...	2	GO TO Q31
DK ...	3	GO TO Q31

IF YES SORT OUT ON THE CALENDAR WHICH JOBS THIS APPLIED TO, THEN ASK & RECORD BELOW:

(i) JOB NUMBER →				
(ii) During the whole time you were working for this employer (...... this spell as a self-employed worker), that is between [START DATE] & [FINISH DATE], how much time altogether did you spend working away from home?				
MONTHS :				
ADDITIONAL WEEKS :				
RING '1' IF LESS THAN ONE WEEK ALTOGETHER :	1	1	1	1
(iii) Did you generally return home				
RUNNING PROMPT Once a week or more	1	1	1	1
Once a month or more	2	2	2	2
Less than once a month?..	3	3	3	3
DNA, single trip(s), out and back	4	4	4	4
DK	5	5	5	5

(iv) When you work(ed) away from home, what kind of accommodation do you usually stay in?

31 In the future, would you say you would be prepared to work away from home ....

RUNNING PROMPT	Under almost any circumstances	1
	Only under very special circumstances .	2
	OR would you never work away from home? ..	3

MOVING HOME

32 Have you moved home since 1st Jan. 1974?

Yes ..	1	SEE (i)-(v)
No ...	2	GO TO Q33

IF YES SORT OUT DATES ON CALENDAR THEN ASK AND RECORD DETAILS FOR EACH MOVE

	MOVE 1	MOVE 2	MOVE 3	MOVE 4
(i) POSITION ON CALENDAR OF MOVE. [eg "JOB 2" or "JOB GAP 2/3"]				
OFF USE				
OFF USE				
(ii) DATE OF MOVE DAY				
MONTH				
YEAR	197	197	197	197

	MOVE 1	MOVE 2	MOVE 3	MOVE 4
(iii) What was your main reason for moving home?				
MOVE 1 'To take up a new job' .	1	1	1	1
Other reason (SPECIFY BELOW)				
....				
....				
MOVE 2 'To take up a new job' .	1	1	1	1
Other reason (SPECIFY BELOW)				
....				
....				
MOVE 3 'To take up a new job' .	1	1	1	1
Other reason (SPECIFY BELOW)				
....				
....				
MOVE 4 'To take up a new job' .	1	1	1	1
Other reason (SPECIFY BELOW)				
....				
....				
FOR EACH MOVE WHERE CODE 1 IS NOT USED, ASK:				
(iv) Was your decision influenced by your work in any way?				
Yes ..	1	1	1	1
No ...	2	2	2	2

IF YES TO ANY MOVE, ASK

(v) Could you tell me a little about how your job influenced your decision to move home?

	MOVE 1	MOVE 2	MOVE 3	MOVE 4
MOVE 1				
MOVE 2				
MOVE 3				
MOVE 4				

33 During the past five years or so, can you recall a time when you have not taken up the offer of a job from a new employer, or even lost a job you had because you were unable or unwilling to ....

	travel a longer distance each day to work?		
INDIVIDUAL		Yes ..	1
PROMPT		No ...	2
	or stay away from home overnight?		
CODE ALL		Yes ..	1
THAT		No ...	2
APPLY	or move your home to another place?		
		Yes ..	1
		No ...	2

IF 'YES' TO ANY OF ABOVE

(a) Can you tell me a little more about this problem (these problems)

INTERVIEWER CODE:

JOB LOST BECAUSE OF ABOVE 1

JOB OFFER NOT TAKEN UP BECAUSE OF ABOVE . 2

INTERRUPTIONS IN WORK:- EMPLOYEE JOBS ONLY

NEVER AN EMPLOYEE SINCE
Jan 1st 1978 = DNA ...... 1 SEE Q35

34 Let's concentrate now just on the last year or so; on the time from 1st January 1978 until now.

Let's talk first about those jobs where you were working as an employee. That is [NAME JOBS]

Since Jan 1st 1978, have you ever been temporarily laid off, for a week or longer, from any of these jobs because of bad weather or for any other reason?

Yes ..	1	GO TO (i)
No ...	2	SEE (v)
DK ...	3	SEE (v)

IF YES SORT OUT OCCASIONS ON CALENDAR (i-iv)
THEN ASK (v) - (xi) FOR EACH LAYOFF:

		LAY OFF 1	LAY OFF 2	LAY OFF 3
(i) JOB NUMBER				
(ii) DATE LAYOFF STARTED	DAY			
	MONTH			
	YEAR	197	197	197
(iii) DATE LAYOFF FINISHED	DAY			
	MONTH			
	YEAR	197	197	197
(iv) LENGTH OF LAYOFF	MONTHS			
	ADDITIONAL WEEKS			

		LAY OFF 1	LAY OFF 2	LAY OFF 3
(v) What reason did your employer give for laying you off work at this time?				
LAY OFF 1	'Bad weather'	1		
	Other (SPECIFY BELOW)			
LAY OFF 2	'Bad weather'		1	
	Other (SPECIFY BELOW)			
LAY OFF 3	'Bad weather'			1
	Other (SPECIFY BELOW)			
(vi) How certain were you at the time that you would be taken on again by the same employer after this lay off? Were you				
RUNNING	Quite certain	1	1	1
PROMPT	Fairly certain ...	2	2	2
	Not at all certain?	3	3	3
(vii) As it happened, how did you manage to get taken on again with the same employer?				
LAY OFF 1				
LAY OFF 2				
LAY OFF 3				

		LAY OFF 1	LAY OFF 2	LAY OFF 3
(viii) Did your employer pay you				
RUNNING	For all the time you were laid off?	1	1	1
PROMPT	For some of the time you were laid off? .	2	2	2
	or not at all?........	3	3	3
(ix) During the time you were laid off, did you register officially as unemployed?				
	Yes ..	1	1	1
	No ...	2	2	2
	DK ...	3 ↓	3 ↓	3 ↓
IF NO OR DK				
(x) Did you do any paid work for anyone else during this time you were laid off?				
	Yes ..	1	1	1
	No ...	2	2	2
	DK ...	3	3	3

INTERRUPTIONS IN WORK:- **SELF-EMPLOYED JOBS ONLY**

NEVER SELF-EMPLOYED SINCE Jan 1st 1978 = DNA	1

35 Now I would like to talk about those times since 1st Jan 1978 when you have been self-employed. That is (GIVE DATES).

During this time, were you ever unable to work, for a week or longer, because of bad weather, because no work was available, or for any other reason?

Yes ..	1
No ...	2
DK ...	3

IF YES SORT OUT OCCASIONS ON CALENDAR (i) - (iv) THEN ASK (v) & (vi) FOR EACH INTERRUPTION IN WORK:

		BREAK 1	BREAK 2	BREAK 3
(i) JOB NUMBER				
(ii) DATE WORLESS PERIOD STARTED	DAY			
	MONTH			
	YEAR	197	197	197
(iii) DATE WORKLESS PERIOD ENDED	DAY			
	MONTH			
	YEAR	197	197	197
(iv) LENGTH OF WORKLESS PERIOD	MONTHS			
	ADDITIONAL WEEKS			

(v) For what reason were you unable to work?

		BREAK 1	BREAK 2	BREAK 3
BREAK 1	'Bad weather'	1		
	Other (SPECIFY BELOW)			
BREAK 2	'Bad weather'		1	
	Other (SPECIFY BELOW)			
BREAK 3	'Bad weather'			1
	Other (SPECIFY BELOW)			

(vi) During this time you were unable to work, did you register officially as unemployed?

	BREAK 1	BREAK 2	BREAK 3
Yes ..	1	1	1
No ...	2	2	2
DK ...	3	3	3

HAND INFORMANT SELF-COMPLETION FORM

36 We have put on this form some phrases which describe good and bad points of work. Could you show me how much each applies to your work in the Construction Industry over the last five years (IF LESS: since you started in the Construction Industry).

Just put a tick in the box that comes nearest to describing how things have been for you.

For example, in the first line, if you think your work has been completely boring you might put a tick here (POINT) or, if it has been completely interesting, here (POINT).

Or if it has been just a bit boring or interesting here or here (POINT).

If it has been neither boring nor interesting, you might put a tick in the middle box.

Don't think too hard about it, just show me in a general way how you feel about the kind of work you have done and how each of the things on this list have been for you.

37 Thinking now more generally about work in the building and construction industry, I will read you some examples of the things some people say from time to time and I would like you to tell me how much you agree or disagree with each one. Just tell me [HAND CARD D] whether you agree very much, agree, disagree, or disagree very much.

	READ ITEMS & CIRCLE CODE	Agree very much	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Disagree very much	DK no opin.
(a)	To keep your earnings up, you should move on to another job before a site is wound up	1	2	3	4	5	6
(b)	You can't do good work when you're working at top speed	1	2	3	4	5	6
(c)	If he can, a man should be loyal to one employer	1	2	3	4	5	6
(d)	Employers are not too concerned if men are out of work	1	2	3	4	5	6
(e)	If you can, it's wise to stick to a job right up to the end	1	2	3	4	5	6
(f)	If people talked less and worked harder, things would be better in the building industry	1	2	3	4	5	6
(g)	It's a good idea to move around a lot to find the best job	1	2	3	4	5	6
(h)	The trouble with building is that you can never be sure you won't have to look for work next week	1	2	3	4	5	6
(i)	It's more important to do work well than to do it quickly	1	2	3	4	5	6
(j)	You've got to be prepared to move around from one boss to another in this trade	1	2	3	4	5	6
(k)	A skilled man should only take jobs that use his skill	1	2	3	4	5	6

38 It has been suggested that all qualified or experienced workers in the construction industry should be given a certificate. This certificate would describe their training and experience. They would show this certificate to an employer when they apply for a job. The idea is that this would help employers choose the best qualified or experienced man for the job.

On the whole, do you think this is ....

	a good idea	1	Ask A
RUNNING PROMPT	or a bad idea?	2	Ask A
	DK	3	GO TO Q39

A Why do you say that?

39A Now I would like you to imagine that you were looking for work as an employee and that after looking around thoroughly you found that there were only two jobs going. As far as you could see the two jobs were exactly the same except that the employers offered you different rates of pay and promised you work for different lengths of time.

SET OUT YELLOW CARDS

Now suppose one employer offered you £60 a week take home pay and guaranteed to employ you for 6 months, as it says on this card [POINT TO CARD].

And suppose the second employer offered you £70 a week take home pay, and guaranteed to employ you for 5 months, as it says on this card [POINT TO CARD] which job would you take? It's up to you, there isn't one right answer.

IF CODE '2' THEN PLACE "GUARANTEED WORK" CARDS ON THE "2ND EMPLOYER" SIDE IN DESCENDING ORDER AND ASK EACH TIME.

If the second employer guaranteed you work for .... months, which job would you take?

	1st EMPLOYER (£60)		2nd EMPLOYER (£70)	
6 months	1	AS SOON	5 months	2
6 months	1	AS '1'	4 months	2
6 months	1	CODED	3 months	2
6 months	1	GO TO 'B'	2 months	2
6 months	1		1 month	2

CHANGE TO BLUE CARDS

39B Suppose the first employer offered you £80 a week take home pay and guaranteed to employ you for 2 years [POINT TO CARD].

And suppose the second employer offered you £100 a week take home pay and guaranteed to employ you for 18 months [POINT TO CARD] which job would you take?

GO THROUGH CARDS AS BEFORE

If the second employer guaranteed you work for .... months, which job would you take?

	1st EMPLOYER (£80)		2nd EMPLOYER (£100)	
2 years	1	AS SOON	18 months	2
2 years	1	AS '1'	12 months	2
2 years	1	CODED	9 months	2
2 years	1	GO TO Q40	6 months	2
2 years	1		3 months	2

GENERAL VIEWS ON MONEY AND WORKING LIFE

40 Coming back to here and now, how much extra money would you say you (and your family) need each week to live, not in luxury, but free from money worries?

CODE AMOUNT TO NEAREST £ then ask (a) and (b).

IF "NONE", CODE '000' AND GO TO Q41
OTHERS ASK (a) and (b)

£ ☐☐☐

DK (RING ALL) 8 8 8 → GO TO Q41

(a) Would you say you need this money ....

RUNNING PROMPT

Very urgently	1	
Fairly urgently	2	
or Not very urgently?	3	
DK	4	

(b) What do you think are your chances of getting this extra money over the next two years?

Is there ....

RUNNING PROMPT

A good chance	1	
A fair chance	2	
or No chance at all?	3	
DK	4	

HAND CARD E AND READ OUT

41 Thinking back over the last five years, on the whole have you found yourself worrying about money ....

Almost all the time	1	
Quite often	2	
Only sometimes	3	
Almost never	4	
Never?	5	
DK	6	

PAY AND HOURS

TO ALL SELF-EMPLOYED, OTHERS DNA —— A → GO TO Q43

42 Do you reckon your earnings as a weekly amount, or only as an annual amount?

Weekly ...	1	ASK Q43
Annual ...	2	GO TO Q44

TO ALL EMPLOYEES & S/E CODED '1' ABOVE

PAY

43 (a) How much did you earn last week, before any deductions were made? [TO NEAREST £]

£ ☐☐☐

SELF EMPLOYED , DNA, GO TO (c)

(b) How much did you earn last week, after all deductions had been made? [TO NEAREST £]

£ ☐☐☐

(c) Recently, have you usually earned more than this, less, or is this an average pay-packet for you?

More	1	GO TO (d)
Less	2	
Average ..	3	GO TO (e)

TO EMPLOYEES

(d1) How much has been your usual take-home pay in recent weeks? [TO NEAREST £]

£ ☐☐☐ GO TO (e)

TO SELF EMPLOYED

(d2) How much has been your usual pay, before any deductions, in recent weeks? [TO NEAREST £]

£ ☐☐☐

(e) Where you work does the amount you earn depend ....

RUNNING PROMPT

(i) Entirely on how many hours you work 1

(ii) Entirely on how much work you get done 2

(iii) or Partly on your hours and partly on the work you get done? 3

(f) If you have the choice, which system of payment do you prefer?

One that depends ....

RUNNING PROMPT

Entirely on how many hours you work 1

Entirely on how much work you get done 2

or Partly on your hours and partly on the work you get done? 3

DK 4

(TO THOSE CODED '2' OR '3' AT (e))

CODED '1' AT (e) DNA ... X → GO TO (l)

(g) Can you describe the way in which your pay depends on how much you get done?

(h) Is this payment added to your wage each week or is it paid to you separately?

Added each week.......... 1 GO TO (j)

Paid separately .... 2 } ASK (i)

Other (SPECIFY TO LEFT) . 3 }

(i) How often is it paid to you?

(j) Is this payment included is the amounts you gave me for your weekly pay?

Yes .. 1 GO TO (l)

No ... 2 ASK (k)

(k) How much, on average, do you receive as a bonus payment?

£ ☐☐☐

(l) Finally, what exactly is your basic rate of pay, per hour?

£ ☐☐ . ☐☐ p

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44 TO SELF-EMPLOYED WHO WERE CODED '2' AT Q42 ONLY

[AT YOUR DISCRETION, REMIND INFORMANTS OF CONFIDENTIALITY OF INFORMATION]

For the last twelve months for which you have figures, how much was the total income you got from your business (your work as a ....) after deducting all your expenses but before deducting income tax and national insurance contributions?

£ ☐☐☐☐☐

What is the 12 month period covered by these figures?

	Month	Year
From:		197
To:		197

45 HOURS WORKED AND HOURS PAID FOR

SELF-EMPLOYED ..... X → GO TO (f)

(a) During the week you were paid the amounts we have just talked about, did you work any overtime?

Yes ... 1 — ASK (b)&(c)
No .... 2 — GO TO (d)
DK .... 3 — GO TO (d)

IF YES

(b) How many hours overtime did you actually work?

HOURS: ☐☐

(c) And how many hours overtime were you reckoned to have worked for payment purposes?

[EG 4 hours @ time-and-a-half = 6 hours]

HOURS: ☐☐

(d) (Apart from overtime) how many hours did you work at basic rates?

HOURS: ☐☐☐

ADD (b) TO (d) AND FOR THAT TOTAL ASK (e)

(e) You have told me that during the week you worked .... hours altogether, do you usually work more hours than this, less, or is this an average week's work for you?

more ...... 1 — GO TO (f)
less ...... 2 — GO TO (f)
average ... 3 — GO TO Q46

(f) How many hours do you usually work in an average week?

HOURS: ☐☐☐

Now let's think more generally about the work you do (did in your last job).

46 Do you feel you have generally a free choice and control over your working life or do you feel that what you think and do has no real effect?

Free choice and control ... 1
No real effect 3
Neutral response 2
DK 4

47 How difficult or easy do you personally find it to do your job well these days? Do you find it .....

RUNNING PROMPT

Very difficult ..... 1 — ASK (a)
Quite difficult .... 2 — ASK (a)
Quite easy .... 3 — GO TO Q48
or Very easy? .... 4 — GO TO Q48
DK 5

(a) What is it that you find difficult?

48 Compared with most people in your line of work, would you say you are the type to get a lot done in the time or are you the slower, steadier type?

Get a lot done 1
Slower, steadier type ... 2
DK 3

49 So, compared with others, would you say you work ....

RUNNING PROMPT

Very fast 1
Quite fast 2
About the same as others ... 3
Quite slowly 4
or Very slowly? 5
DK 6

50 Do you have any particular health problems or any disability which affects the kind of work or how much work you can do?

Yes	1	ASK (a)
No	2	SEE KEY FILTER

(a) What kind of problem do you have?

(b) Did this problem arise as a result of an accident at work or something of that kind?

[NB INCLUDES EXPOSURE IN BAD WEATHER, CONTAMINATION, POISONING, ETC]

Yes ...	1	ASK (c)
No	2	ASK (d)&(e)
DK	3	

IF YES

(c) How did this problem come about?

(d) How long ago did you first have this problem?

YEARS	MONTHS

(e) Has this problem got worse lately, has it got better, or is it much the same?

worse	1
better	3
much the same ...	2
DK	4

KEY FILTER

CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED AND LOOKING FOR WORK GO TO Q51
CURRENT CONSTRUCTION WORKERS GO TO Q54
OTHERS CURRENTLY WORKING GO TO Q52
REMAINDER GO TO Q55

THOUGHTS ABOUT THE FUTURE

TO THOSE CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED ONLY

51 How much longer do you expect it will be before you find another job?

PROMPT ONLY IF NECESSARY

One day	1
2 or 3 days	2
4 days to a week	3
One week to 3 weeks	4
3 weeks to a month	5
A month to 2 months	6
More	7
Does not expect to find one at all	8
DK	9

(a) Are you looking for work ....

RUNNING PROMPT

Only in the construction industry ...	1	GO TO Q54
Only in some other line of work	2	GO TO (b)
or Would any kind of work suit you?	3	
DK	4	

(b) Is there any particular kind of work outside construction that attracts you?

Yes ...	1	GO TO (c)
No	2	GO TO (d)
DK	3	

(c) What kind of work is that?

(d) What, to you, is the most important reason for your looking for work outside the construction industry?

GO TO Q55

TO THOSE HAVING LEFT THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

52 What, would you say, was the most important reason for your leaving the construction industry?

53 Would you ever consider going back to work in construction?

Yes .. 1 GO TO (a & b)
No ... 2 GO TO Q55
DK ... 3 GO TO (a & b)

IF "YES" OR "DK"

(a) What would be the most likely reason encouraging you to go back to a job in construction?

(b) How likely is it that you will actually go back to a job in construction. Is it ....

RUNNING PROMPT

Very likely 1
Fairly likely 2
Fairly unlikely 3
Very unlikely? 4
DK 5
GO TO Q55

TO CURRENT CONSTRUCTION WORKERS AND UNEMPLOYED WORKERS

LOOKING ONLY FOR CONSTRUCTION WORK

54 Would you ever think of leaving the construction industry and doing some other kind of work?

Yes .. 1 ASK (a)
No ... 2
DK ... 3
GO TO Q55

(a) What other kind of work might attract you?

(b) What do you think would be the most important thing which would encourage you to leave construction work?

(c) Barring accidents and so on, how likely is it that you will actually leave the construction industry, say, during the next five years? Is it

RUNNING PROMPT

very likely 1
fairly likely 2
GO TO Q55
fairly unlikely 3
very unlikely? 4
ASK (d)
DK .... 5 GO TO Q55

(d) Why is it that you are unlikely to leave construction and do another kind of work?

55 Have you ever started .... INDIVIDUAL PROMPT, CODE ALL THAT APPLY

- 1 An apprenticeship of any kind,
- * 2 A government training scheme course, or
- 3 Any other kind of formal training to work in building or civil engineering?
- 4 No formal training - GO TO Q56

RING PRECODE 1, 2 OR 3 (AS ABOVE) TO INDICATE TYPE OF TRAINING FOR EACH COURSE	COURSE 1		COURSE 2		COURSE 3	
	1 2 3		1 2 3		1 2 3	
(a) Did you complete this course? Yes No Still attending	1 2 3		1 2 3		1 2 3	
(b) For what specialist work or craft were (are) you training?						
(c) Did (will) you receive any papers or diploma? Yes No DK	1 2 3		1 2 3		1 2 3	
(d) What is (are) the name(s) of the organisation(s) that gave (will give) you this (these) qualification(s)?						
(e) For how long were/are you doing this apprenticeship/training course?	YEARS	MONTHS	YEARS	MONTHS	YEARS	MONTHS

NOTE BELOW ANY DETAILS OF TRAINING NOT COVERED BY ABOVE

56 In what country were you born?

57 And in what country was your father born?

58 When you were still at school, what job did your father do?

PROMPT: What trade did he follow?

What industry did he work in?

No father, ONA 1

TO ALL; THOSE NOW IN LODGINGS AWAY FROM HOME, CODE BELOW AND ASK Q FOR OWN HOME.

59 Do you (your family/this household) own this house/flat; are you buying it on a mortgage or a loan; are you renting it from the Local Authority or renting it furnished or unfurnished from a private landlord; or do you have some other arrangement?

Accommodation owned outright	1
Buying on mortgage or a loan	2
Rented from Local Authority	3
Rented from private landlord FURNISHED	4
Rented from private landlord UNFURNISHED	5
Resident members of housing association .	6
Accommodation is free with job	7
Living rent free (as own household) in accommodation with relatives	8
Other arrangement (SPECIFY)	9

INTERVIEWER CODE:

INFORMANT NOW LIVING IN LODGINGS AWAY FROM HOME 1

TIME INTERVIEW FINISHED ☐☐ ☐☐

W585 OPCS 12/78

S-C SHEET

OVER THE PAST FIVE YEARS MY WORK HAS BEEN ....

Boring	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Interesting
Well-paid	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Badly-paid
Dangerous	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Safe
Always bad site facilities	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Always good site facilities
Friendly workmates	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Unfriendly workmates
Always long journeys to work	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Always short journeys
Inside in winter	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Outside in winter
Inside in Summer	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Outside in Summer
Work at my own pace	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Work at other people's pace
Always jobs going in my line	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Never jobs going in my line
Always having to move on	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Always able to stay on with firms
Always live at home	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Always travelling around
Secure	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Insecure
Always flat rate pay	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Always bonus schemes
More than enough overtime	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	No overtime
Always out of work	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Never out of work
Always ordered about	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Always plan my own work
Reasonable hours	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Awkward hours
Always very good jobs	☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐—☐	Always very bad jobs

W730 OPCS 12/78

Serial No ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

1974

Jan. 1/74	Feb. 2/74	March 3/74	April 4/74	May 5/74	June 6/74	July 7/74	Aug. 8/74	Sept. 9/74	Oct. 10/74	Nov. 11/74	Dec. 12/74

1975

Jan. 1/75	Feb. 2/75	March 3/75	April 4/75	May 5/75	June 6/75	July 7/75	Aug. 8/75	Sept. 9/75	Oct. 10/75	Nov. 11/75	Dec. 12/75

1976

Jan. 1/76	Feb. 2/76	March 3/76	April 4/76	May 5/76	June 6/76	July 7/76	Aug. 8/76	Sept. 9/76	Oct. 10/76	Nov. 11/76	Dec.12/76

1977

Jan. 1/77	Feb. 2/77	March 3/77	April 4/77	May 5/77	June 6/77	July 7/77	Aug. 8/77	Sept. 9/77	Oct. 10/77	Nov. 11/77	Dec. 12/77

1978

Jan. 1/78	Feb. 2/78	March 3/78	April 4/78	May 5/78	June 6/78	July 7/78	Aug. 8/78	Sept. 9/78	Oct. 10/78	Nov. 11/78	Dec. 12/78

1979

Jan. 1/79	Feb. 2/79	March 3/79	April 4/79

CALENDAR CHECK

NUMBER OF JOBS FIRST RECORDED ON CALENDAR = ☐☐

NOW ASK J K L & M BELOW, ALWAYS STARTING FROM THE PRESENT AND WORKING BACKWARDS

RING CODES IN THE BOXES BENEATH EACH QUESTION TO INDICATE WHETHER YOU MADE ANY CHANGE ON THE CALENDAR AS A RESULT

J ASK FOR EACH JOB

Thinking about the time between .... and .... when you were working for .... (were S/E), was there any time when you actually left .... (stopped being S/E) and then went back?

CALENDAR	1st JOB	2nd JOB	3rd JOB	4th JOB	5th JOB	6th JOB
CHANGED NOT CHANGED	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2
	7th JOB	8th JOB	9th JOB	10th JOB	11th JOB	12th JOB
CHANGED NOT CHANGED	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

K ASK FOR EACH GAP BETWEEN JOBS D.N.A. NONE .... X - SEE L

Thinking about the time after you had stopped working for .... (being S/E) before you started working for .... (being S/E), did you do any paid work at all?

CALENDAR	1st GAP	2nd GAP	3rd GAP	4th GAP	5th GAP	6th GAP
CHANGED NOT CHANGED	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2
	7th GAP	8th GAP	9th GAP	10th GAP	11th GAP	12th GAP
CHANGED NOT CHANGED	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

L ASK FOR EACH DIRECT CHANGE OF JOBS

Did you go straight from your job for .... (being S/E) to your job for .... (being S/E) or was there any time when you were out of work or working for another employer?

CALENDAR	1st MOVE	2nd MOVE	3rd MOVE	4th MOVE	5th MOVE	6th MOVE
CHANGED NOT CHANGED	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2
	7th MOVE	8th MOVE	9th MOVE	10th MOVE	11th MOVE	12th MOVE
CHANGED NOT CHANGED	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

M ASK FOR EACH JOB

Now we have recorded on the calendar that you were working for (S/E) for .... years and .... months, on this occassion. Does that seem about the right length of time?

CALENDAR	1st JOB	2nd JOB	3rd JOB	4th JOB	5th JOB	6th JOB
CHANGED NOT CHANGED	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2
	7th JOB	8th JOB	9th JOB	10th JOB	11th JOB	12th JOB
CHANGED NOT CHANGED	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

NUMBER OF JOBS NOW RECORDED ON CALENDAR = ☐☐

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